



Daily Report

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Analyst Sees U.S. Reluctance To Reduce Navy

*LD2911194689 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT
29 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—By TASS Military Analyst Vladimir Bogachev: The essence of the current Washington arms control doctrine has been graphically illustrated by United States State Department Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler in her comments on naval armaments.

According to Tutwiler, Soviet initiatives in the field of naval forces are unacceptable to Washington as the United States is a naval power and the reduction of naval forces is at variance with U.S. interests.

On the other hand Tutwiler insisted, the disarmament process should mainly aim to reduce land forces, because the Soviet Union is a land power.

Is that not a graphic example of the 'balanced' U.S. approach towards disarmament issues?

Speaking on Tuesday at a regular briefing in Washington, Tutwiler said that she was not aware of any measures in the field of naval arms control capable of strengthening stability.

Moreover, she insisted that the U.S. forward naval presence thousands of miles away from U.S. coasts made U.S. deterrence most dependable.

The recent decisions of the Soviet Union to curtail the deployment of its own naval forces were explained away by references to management difficulties and limited resources.

Tutwiler sought to justify Washington's reluctance to discuss the problem of naval arms by the U.S. commitment to freedom of navigation and the need to defend the country's commercial interests.

However, the strength of U.S. naval forces in the east and especially in the west considerably exceeds the requirements of its coast-guard forces and the protection of sea communications.

As conventional and nuclear armaments are being reduced, the destabilising role of the naval forces is growing immeasurably.

As it is, naval forces with their immense missile and artillery potential and aircraft and paratrooper contingents are capable of carrying out offensive missions not only at sea but also on land.

The Soviet Union has recently decided to reduce its naval forces unilaterally. Among other things, certain categories of Soviet sea-based nuclear weapons are being eliminated in the Baltic Sea.

The Soviet Union has withdrawn from combat readiness two submarines, known as 'Golf' in NATO circles. The

four remaining submarines of the Golf type will be eliminated by the end of 1990.

The Soviet Union has announced that Soviet submarines do not enter the waters of the Canadian archipelago.

The U.S. refusal to negotiate naval armaments, and the Pentagon proclaimed policy of maintaining U.S. superiority in the seas and oceans undermine the newly-begun processes of confidence building and reducing the level of armed confrontation.

Moreover, the processes will surely end in an impasse if the naval arms issue is not resolved on a mutually acceptable basis.

Chervov, Karpov on 'Restraint Strategy'

*LD0112001589 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT
30 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—"The Soviet-American Treaty on the elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles entered into force a year and a half ago. The Soviet Union and the United States are complying fully with the obligations undertaken under the treaty," Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, head of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Administration, said.

Chervov participated in a Soviet radio broadcast, "From Deterrence Strategy to Restraint Strategy," together with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov today.

"Both sides have now fully eliminated shorter-range missiles and a considerable number of intermediate-range missiles. These missiles have a short flight time, no more than 8-12 minutes, and their elimination undoubtedly increases security and stability on the European continent," Chervov said.

Karpov stressed the need to reduce the level of military confrontation in the world and said that within 1989-1990 the Soviet Union would reduce its military spending by 14 per cent.

"The share of military spending in national revenue will be reduced by 50 per cent by 1990. Similar tendencies, although less vivid, are being witnessed in the United States. Its military budget for 1990 is 4 billion dollars below that of 1989. The grim cold war times are certainly receding into the past and we can now speak of new trends in East-West relations," he said.

"But along with political changes in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and other Western countries, one should have in mind the factor of the military confrontation between the two alliances—NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation."

"Negotiations on conventional troops in Europe are under way in Vienna, involving countries of both blocs. There, one is witnessing the beginnings of progress, which gives one grounds to believe that really profound

cuts in NATO and Warsaw Treaty troops and armaments could be agreed upon by the end of next year," Karpov said.

"This would signify the emergence of a new situation, unprecedented in post-war history," Karpov said. "If by the end of 1990 there is a breakthrough in the drawing up of a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons and liquidation of its stocks and also an accord on strategic offensive arms cuts, one could look anew at European and world security."

75,000 Soviet Troops To Withdraw From CSSR

*LD0112000189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2300 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Lieutenant-General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, has said that some 75,000 members of the Soviet Army are to leave the CSSR definitively. However, he did not give any precise date.

In an interview for British television, Gen Vorobyev also said that the Soviet units did not intend to interfere in internal developments in the CSSR.

U.S. Urged To Respond on Nuclear Test Ban

*PM2911170589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5*

[V. Karpov article: "Why Is the U.S. Congress Silent?"]

[Text] The first major foreign policy action by the Supreme Soviet elected by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies was its adoption on 1 August of an address to the U.S. Congress on questions of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and discontinuation of nuclear tests. This was no accident. It was a reflection of the unanimous mandate by the whole Soviet people to put an end to nuclear explosions. In their address to the U.S. Congress, those chosen by the people proposed that this question be discussed at a meeting of USSR and U.S. parliamentarians, which could be held in either Moscow or Washington in the near future.

The USSR Embassy in Washington presented this address to the U.S. Congress, and news about it flashed around the world. But more than 3 months have already passed since then, and there has been simply no response to the Supreme Soviet's appeal.

It is certainly hard to explain such absentmindedness on the congressmen's part. One would like to believe that this important foreign policy act by the new Soviet parliament will not be left without a constructive answer. At the same time, and while awaiting that answer, it is obviously necessary to state once more our country's stance on this most urgent question.

The Soviet Union's approach to the problem of nuclear tests is based on the idea that the provision of reliable security cannot be based on the buildup and further

improvement of nuclear potential. The qualitative nuclear arms race, with nuclear tests an integral part of it, does not strengthen but undermines both national and universal security and could produce serious negative consequences as regards the maintenance of the nuclear weapons nonproliferation regime.

Proceeding from this premise, the Soviet Union has consistently advocated and still advocates a most radical solution to the problem of nuclear explosions. Graphic proof of this approach was provided by our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which was in effect from August 1985 until February 1987. Unfortunately, the United States responded to this step of ours with 26 nuclear explosions in Nevada, thus offering a peculiar illustration of its declared "commitment to the ultimate goal of banning nuclear tests." Forced by the unconstructive U.S. stance to resume testing, the Soviet Union at the same time precisely and clearly declared its readiness to discontinue it on any day of any month on the basis of reciprocity with the United States.

In parallel with this, and taking the real situation into account, the Soviet Union took yet another step in order to take this problem out of the years-long deadlock for which it is not to blame. We proposed at the Reykjavik summit meeting in October 1986 to begin full-scale talks with the United States on discontinuing nuclear tests, envisaging also the examination at these talks of interim solutions—on which the United States insisted as a preliminary condition—like, for example, the future of the 1974 and 1976 Soviet-U.S. treaties limiting the yield of underground nuclear explosions which are still not ratified, and their further limitations on yield and numbers and other questions on the way to complete discontinuation of such explosions by the USSR and the United States initially and by all nuclear powers subsequently. In this way, while serious differences remained in the sides' conceptual approaches to the problem of a complete test ban, real opportunities emerged to embark on practical USSR-U.S. collaboration in this sphere leading to solutions which would lay the foundations necessary to attain this goal.

Consequently, full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks started in Geneva in November 1987, and in the course of these talks both sides pledged that, following agreement on effective verification measures making it possible to ratify the 1974 and 1976 treaties, they should embark without any artificial interruptions or procrastination on the elaboration of further interim limitations on underground nuclear tests, keeping in sight as the ultimate goal of these talks the task of complete discontinuation of explosions as part of an effective disarmament process.

Following this guideline, the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks is consistently pursuing the line of the earliest possible agreement on all unresolved questions concerning the verification mechanism of the 1974 and 1976 treaties, so as to pave the way for their ratification by the U.S. Congress and the Supreme Soviet. Agreement has already been reached on a verification protocol

to the 1976 treaty, and work on a similar protocol to the 1974 treaty is approaching completion. Following our initiative, a number of measures—unprecedented from the viewpoint of strengthening mutual confidence and their degree of openness—were implemented at USSR and U.S. test sites, culminating in the successful conduct of a joint experiment on verification in August-September 1988.

A decisive step forward toward the completion of the first stage of the talks was taken during the meeting between USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Wyoming last September, with agreement being reached in principle on verification measures for the 1974 treaty, making it possible to prepare a protocol to this treaty and a protocol to the 1976 treaty ready for signature at next year's official summit meeting, and to submit the 1974 and 1976 treaties for ratification.

In parallel with its efforts on the bilateral level, the Soviet Union is doing everything within its power to secure the start of objective talks on this problem on a multilateral basis and is making specific proposals to involve the authoritative forum of the Disarmament Conference in the process of preparing a treaty on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests. This is the goal pursued by the relevant draft treaty submitted by the USSR, jointly with the other socialist countries, for examination by the 1987 conference and envisaging the strictest possible monitoring of the observance of the test ban, including on-site inspections without a right to refuse. It must be regretfully said, however, that the start of serious work at this forum is in essence being blocked by the United States, despite the clearly expressed desire of most of its members.

Our country is profoundly sympathetic to all proposals aimed at the need to end nuclear tests. For example, the Soviet Union has repeatedly come out in support of initiatives on this problem put forward by the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden. Our country also supports the proposal to extend to underground nuclear tests the effect of the 1963 Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in the three environments. Conscientiously performing its obligations as one of this treaty's depositories, the Soviet Union has now actively joined the process of preparing a conference of the parties to it for this purpose. As for the United States, without waiting for such a conference to be convened, it hastened to categorically declare that it finds unacceptable in principle any approach which envisages the inclusion of a ban on underground nuclear tests in the 1963 treaty.

But events are outpacing the diplomatic talks. Questions of military policy are being discussed at rallies and at republic and Union Supreme Soviet sessions and are becoming the topic of direct dialogue between the people and the country's leadership.

In response to the Kazakhstan population's profound concern about the continuation of nuclear tests in the Semipalatinsk region, the government decided to substantially reduce the number of explosions carried out there and to limit their yields. It was announced at N.I. Ryzhkov's 17 November meeting with miners that the USSR does not plan to carry out any new tests this year.

At the same time it is obviously impossible to achieve a lasting and final discontinuation of nuclear weapons tests through the efforts of one country alone. This depends on all the nuclear powers. The two major nuclear powers—the USSR and the United States—could set an example in this regard, which could become an important factor in solving the problem of discontinuing nuclear tests. This is precisely why the USSR Supreme Soviet addressed the proposal to the U.S. Congress to urgently discuss the situation prevailing around this problem and to jointly map out ways for solving it.

The demand to put an end to nuclear explosions once and for all times is being heard from all corners of the planet and is backed by the overwhelming majority of UN states. The three resolutions on the problem of nuclear tests, adopted by the UN General Assembly's First Committee 17 November, contain an insistent call by the international community, addressed primarily to the nuclear powers, to conclude a treaty on an all-embracing and final ban on nuclear tests and, prior to its conclusion, to discontinue all nuclear tests either on the basis of a moratorium agreed among them or by way of unilateral moratoriums. One of these resolutions proposes immediately starting preparations to convene a conference of states which are parties to the 1963 Moscow Treaty with a view to transforming that treaty into an agreement on an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests, and lays down the specific stages of this preparation.

The U.S. public, including numerous members of Congress, is also concerned over the problem of nuclear tests. Last May a group of 23 senators and 142 members of the House of Representatives sent President G. Bush a letter asking him to come out with an initiative to conclude a Soviet-U.S. treaty on an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests in the immediate future. Let us hope that these sensible proposals will be finally heeded and that the joint efforts by our two countries' peoples and by states from the other continents will succeed in persuading the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Administration that silence at the test sites in Semipalatinsk and Nevada will not undermine anyone's security but, on the contrary, will promote its consolidation in the interests of all mankind.

More on 27-29 Nov Pact Defense Ministers Meeting**Yazov Comments**

*LD3011160589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1437 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, 30 Nov (TASS)—A meeting of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states has ended its work here. Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Politburo Central Committee, USSR defense minister speaks about the circumstances in which the meeting passed, at the request of a TASS correspondent:

"Increasingly at present, the international atmosphere is changing for the better, the mutual understanding and trust between the states of different systems is deepening, and political dialogue is developing. The upcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the U.S. President George Bush, will without a doubt provide important stimuli for the activation of positive processes. [no end quote marks as received]

If one speaks of the European continent, then here, the development of the Helsinki process is continuing. Real opportunities exist for achieving success at the Vienna talks on the basis of reciprocity, the equality of the sides and reasonable compromise.

The processes of restructuring, and the renewal of socialism are developing in the countries of the Warsaw Pact. These processes testify to the enormous potential and the historical progressiveness of the socialist system, which is acquiring a new image, is improving, and is strengthening the hopes of humanity for the constructive resolution of many global problems of the present day.

In a word, the positive changes in the world, begun under the influence of the new political thinking, are unquestionable. However, the guarantees of their irreversibility have not yet taken shape. Unfortunately, certain circles in the West are trying to act according to obsolete stereotypes and to sow suspicion and mistrust.

The construction and preparation of the armed forces in NATO are continuing in accordance with the doctrines of "direct confrontation" and "flexible reaction" which do not have a defensive thrust at all. In the states of the North Atlantic Alliance, all the main military programs are being implemented, essentially.

The existence of a real military danger is determined also by the presence of powerful combat-ready groupings of armed forces opposing each other.

Naturally, the contemporary political realities are being taken into account in the work of the Committee of the Defense Ministers. The participants in this sitting once again affirmed their adherence to the defensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact and to the principle of defense sufficiency.

As far as the position of the Warsaw Pact participant states are concerned, regarding the existence of military and political alliances, it is common knowledge. We are in favor of the disbandment of such alliances on a mutual basis. At the sitting of defense ministers of allied countries, which has just finished, this position was confirmed: As long as NATO exists, the need remains also for the Warsaw Pact. For 35 years now, it has not only been serving as a reliable guarantor of the security of the participant states, but is also a major factor for stability and peace in Europe and the whole world.

Communique Issued

*PM3011170789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
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["Communique of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session"]

[Text] A session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee was held 27-29 November in the Hungarian capital, Budapest.

Talking part in the session's work were: Army General D. Dzheurov, Bulgarian national defense minister; Colonel General F. Karpati, Hungarian defense minister; Admiral T. Hoffmann, GDR national defense minister; Army General F. Siwicki, Polish national defense minister; Colonel General V. Milea, Romanian national defense minister; Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister; Lieutenant General E. Liska, Czechoslovak deputy national defense minister; Army General P.G. Lushev, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact armed forces; and Army General V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

The session was also attended by representatives of the leading personnel of Warsaw Pact states' defense ministries and of the Joint Armed Forces Joint Command.

The session was chaired by the Hungarian defense minister.

The session participants exchanged opinions on the prevailing military-political situation in Europe and considered the prospects for the further improvement of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces in view of the decisions by the allied countries' governments to reorganize their armed forces and the course of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The Defense Ministers' Committee noted the definite progress that has been made of late in improving international relations and reducing tension and confrontation. Great significance attaches to practical steps by the Warsaw Pact states in the disarmament sphere and the emerging prospects for new measures for strengthening peace, security, and trust.

The steps taken by the Warsaw Pact states in the context of implementing the provisions of their military doctrine, which involve unilaterally reducing their armed

forces, giving them a more defensive orientation, and also cutting arms production and military expenditure, are seen by the Defense Ministers' Committee as a significant and constructive contribution to creating favorable prerequisites for the further development of the process of arms limitation and lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe.

The session expressed satisfaction in connection with the accord on holding a Soviet-American summit and with the new initiatives on reducing strategic offensive armaments, limiting nuclear tests, banning chemical weapons, and destroying all stocks of them.

The results achieved at and also the prospects for the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe were positively rated.

The Defense Ministers' Committee stressed the importance of channeling relations between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic alliance in a nonconfrontational direction and setting up a constructive dialogue between them on military lines as well. There was a positive rating of the results of the meetings between representatives of the top military leadership of the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries.

At the same time, the session participants made a point of stressing that both sides need to make further efforts to make the positive new processes irreversible.

The military budgets and programs for the long-term development of the armed forces of the United States and the other NATO countries are still geared to maintaining military strength as the chief means of achieving their foreign policy interests. NATO's desire to continue with the strategy of nuclear deterrence and leave navies

outside the framework of the talks on reducing armed forces and armaments is bound to cause concern.

It was stressed that the development of the situation in the European continent urgently requires the start of talks on the reduction and then elimination of tactical nuclear weapons. The USSR's willingness to accept a further considerable unilateral reduction of its tactical nuclear missiles in Europe if the NATO countries agree to start talks met with approval.

On the basis of an analysis of the prevailing military-political situation, the Defense Ministers' Committee defined the areas for the further improvement of the Joint Armed Forces in accordance with the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine and national military doctrines. Military building will take place in the light of the need to have adequate and reliable defenses and combat-ready Joint Armed Forces capable of guaranteeing the defense of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Agreed decisions were adopted on the questions under discussion.

The session was businesslike and took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The next session will be in Berlin.

Gorbachev to Brief Pact 'Summit' on Malta Meeting

*LD3011120289 Moscow World Service in English
1100 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] It has been announced in Moscow that early next month a summit meeting will be held here between member states of the Warsaw Pact. Mikhail Gorbachev will brief his allies on the talks with the U.S. President.

TASS Reports Gremitskikh Press Briefing 30 Nov**December Warsaw Pact Meeting***LD3011143689 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT
30 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—The heads of the Warsaw Treaty member countries will meet in Moscow early in December, 1989 by mutual arrangement. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Gremitskikh said that Mikhail Gorbachev will inform representatives of the allied countries about the results of his talks with U.S. President George Bush.

The Warsaw Treaty summit "will be probably held between Gorbachev's return from Malta and his meeting with President Francois Mitterrand of France," the spokesman said.

U.S. Plutonium Production*LD3011153189 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT
30 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—Commenting on the November 28 WASHINGTON POST report that the U.S. Department of Energy might drop its long-term program of weapons-grade plutonium production, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh has linked this with the reduced tension in East-West relations and related agreements in the field of nuclear disarmament.

Speaking at a briefing here today, Gremitskikh stressed that once adopted, the measure would meet halfway the USSR's proposal to stop the production of fissionable materials for military purposes.

The spokesman reaffirmed the USSR's readiness to start immediately the elaboration of a corresponding verifiable Soviet-American agreement.

On 1968 Events in CSSR*LD3011162589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1436 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated today at a briefing that people in the Soviet Union are carefully following the dynamic development of the situation in Czechoslovakia. Recently, he continued, voices in that country have been heard more and more persistently demanding that a new appraisal should be given to the events of 1968, which, as is known, led to the introduction of troops of Warsaw Pact states to Czechoslovakia. Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government, has laid out his position on this question.

Yuriy Gremitskikh said that as has been repeatedly stated by the Soviet side, an analysis of the internal

aspects of the events of 1968 is a prerogative for the CSSR. The perception of events at that time was to a great extent derived from the concrete international situation, the spirit of the "cold war" which reigned at that time, and the level of confrontation of the two military blocks.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry representative stressed that since that time ideas have changed in the USSR about socialism, about the nature of relations between states as a whole and socialist countries in particular. The Soviet Union unambiguously rejects the use of force or threat of force both in relations between military-political alliances and inside the alliances themselves.

People in the USSR, noted Yuriy Gremitskikh, share the view of Ladislav Adamec that the question of the stay of Soviet troops in the CSSR is connected with the course of the general European disarmament process and progress at the talks in Vienna. With regard to the intention expressed by the head of the CSSR Government to start talks with the USSR about a review of the treaty on the temporary stay on Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia, he stated that an official appeal on this matter has not come through.

1939-40 Soviet-Finnish Winter War*LD3011162889 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1457 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow, 30 Nov (TASS)—Historical studies of the tragic aspect of Soviet-Finnish relations—the so-called "Winter War" of 1939-1940, are now being stepped up in the Soviet Union. They form part of the overall mass of work being carried out in the country to restore historical truth and to cleanse it of the deformations of the Stalinist period and the time of stagnation. This was noted at a briefing here today by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the beginning of this conflict, being marked today.

Yuriy Gremitskikh stressed that both the Soviet Union and Finland had to act at a difficult time and in an atmosphere poisoned by fascist aggression, when alienation and distrust easily developed into suspicion and hostility. Both the leadership of Finland at the time, and the then leadership of the USSR bear their own share of responsibility for the conflict which arose. The Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that this evaluation in no way lessens the guilt of Stalin and those around him for choosing methods of force to resolve the dispute with Finland.

Yuriy Gremitskikh said that both states have made fundamental and responsible conclusions from the tragedy of those years. The correctness and historical wisdom of those conclusions are fully confirmed by life, he said.

Supreme Soviet To Examine Funding of UNESCO

PM2311141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch:
"UNESCO: From Confrontation to Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] Paris—The 25th session of the UNESCO General Conference, which has lasted about a month, has ended in Paris. It unanimously approved the organization's programs and budget for the next 2 years and the medium-term plan for its activities in 1990-1995. Its main spheres are peace and human rights, the struggle against illiteracy, rational use of natural resources, conservation of the environment, and protection of the cultural heritage. Special emphasis has been placed on the "Priority to Africa" program. [passage omitted]

Attending the 25th session as an observer, the United States followed its course with exceptional attention and, according to LE MONDE, wields more influence within the organization now than when it was a member. Washington, LE MONDE writes in part, exerted pressure on West European and Latin American countries to secure zero growth in the UNESCO budget. Incidentally, this was also favored by the USSR.

In the absence of the United States, our country is the biggest contributor to the organization's budget, paying some \$30 million a year. People's deputies who are part of the Soviet delegation have decided to clarify the quality of the return on our dues, that is, to ascertain how effective Soviet participation is, as regards both us and the organization. The deputies intend to submit this question for consideration by the appropriate committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Perestroika's Effects on Third World Viewed

LD2611231489 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT
26 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

Where is the Soviet Union carried by perestroika? Visiting Asian and African countries in the recent years and conversing with people. This observer heard something like expression of concern more than once.

Some said that advancing the principle of the primacy of the common human ideas in politics and thus as if lifting ideological restraints from international relations. The Soviet Union, allegedly, betrays the liberation movements, that trying to attract Western capital and wishing to get Western technologies and goods, it turns away from developing countries.

Others said that "rehabilitating" commodity production, and vigorously supporting cooperative property and other kinds of property, the USSR almost "restores" capitalism and thereby puts countries of socialist orientation in a very difficult position.

The Zimbabwean newspaper THE HERALD asserted that as a result of the liberalisation in the Soviet Union, the third World is left without any support. The newspaper said that whereas in the past countries of the Eastern Bloc unconditionally supported countries of socialist orientation by every means, now they offer only settlement at a negotiating table.

All these doubts and concerns will be dispelled after the public in developing countries familiarises itself with the theoretical article of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev published in PRAVDA today. The article is entitled "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroika."

The article says that deliberation about the Soviet Communist Party's "deviating" from socialism clearly shows stereotypes of old thinking and the failure to realise the fact that new realities require a new approach to the solution of most acute problems of the present.

This approach is based not on the social and class confrontation of the times of the cold war but on humanistic principles suiting the principles of all the sides.

Asking "where are we going?", Gorbachev answers this question unambiguously: We are building a humane and democratic socialism. The society to which we advance during perestroika should be based on an effective economy, on the highest achievements of science, technology and culture, and on the humanised social structure. It means a society which has democratised all aspects of social life and has produced conditions for active creative life and work of people.

This has nothing in common with the restoration of capitalism.

It is another matter that socialism is no longer viewed on the basis of dogmata. A broader, more profound and realistic view of socialism is taken, socialism is as multiform in its manifestations as life itself. Therefore there can be many forms of socialist development in one country, to say nothing in the whole world.

This conclusion contained in Gorbachev's article is very important for developing countries of socialist orientation.

This multiformity in Asian and African countries is based on different levels of the development of production forces, different forms of production, and the variety of historic, national and cultural traditions.

As to concerns about "deideologisation" of interstate relations, this means not the discarding, but the revival of true values of scientific socialism on a new basis.

The new political thinking is keynoted by the idea that in the light of present realities genuine progress cannot be achieved either through the infringement of human rights and liberties and rights and freedoms of peoples,

or at the expense of the environment, that global problems of the present can be resolved on a common human basis, and not in the framework of only the capitalist or the socialist system.

Does this formula have anything to do with betrayal? Certainly, not. The problems of removing the threat of nuclear destruction of humanity, of overcoming the lag in development affecting two thirds of humanity, and the problem of environmental protection are all global problems. And if the approach to these problems is imbued with the spirit of ideological intolerance, of class enmity, what hope can there be of progress for entire humanity? Then every side should be overjoyed by the failures of the other, and should look for its weak points to capitalise on its weaknesses. What cooperation in the solution of common human problems can there be in this case?

There are no reasons for concern either that present changes in the Soviet Union can have a negative effect on Africa's economy. At the height of perestroika, Gorbachev said in his United Nations address that the Soviet Union is prepared to establish a long-term (up to one hundred years) moratorium on the repayment of debts by the least developed countries, and to write them off completely in a large number of cases.

New forms of economic activity are actively sought by the USSR. One example of this is the recent decision to set up a Soviet-Belgian enterprise to develop polymetallic ore in the Congo. It is true. Though, that the Soviet Union's business relations with African countries will be based in future on a greater economic realism and partnership.

Among numerous comments on the impact that changes in the USSR have on developing countries, an article published in the Brazzaville-based ETUMBA deserves to be mentioned.

Describing perestroika as a kind of a revolution within a revolution that inevitably has an impact on world processes, the newspaper drew the reasonable conclusion that the current reforms in the Soviet Union and other

socialist countries mean the discarding of dogmatic interpretation of Marxism and its creative development with taking into account requirements of the times.

UN Food Body Being 'Blackmailed' by United States

PM2811113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "Blackmail Attempt Again"]

[Text] New York—The United States has threatened that if the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) adopts the resolution which is now under discussion at the FAO general conference and which in no way suits the Washington administration, retribution will follow immediately: U.S. subscriptions to the organization's fund will be substantially reduced.

It is a case of the resolution submitted by a group of Arab countries which believe that it is essential that the FAO, acting in cooperation with the PLO, "provide the Palestinian people with aid in their economic development." The policy of the Israeli occupying authorities has created considerable obstacles to the development of the economy of the occupied Palestinian territories and therefore aid from the international community is extremely important. That is how the Arab countries motivate their resolution. The resolution is being put to the vote on Monday.

Washington officially motivates its position by references to the fact that the resolution's adoption will be an act of "massive politicization" of the UN department, which is empowered to engage not in politics but in problems of agricultural development in third world countries.

Even if the Americans are absolutely right in their accusations that is by no means grounds for engaging in financial blackmail against an international organization. The United States has often had occasion in the past to be convinced that this policy seldom works.

United States & Canada

Bush-Gorbachev Meeting in Malta Anticipated

Preparations on Malta

LD0112094689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0830 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Excerpt] There is just 1 day left before the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush on warships in the Mediterranean. Yuriy Kabaladze, our special correspondent, reports from Malta:

[Kabaladze] Speaking on the television channel being relayed to the international press center, Maltese Prime Minister Fenech Adami stated that the preparations for the meeting are going on 24 hours a day, although by and large all the groundwork has been completed. The last few days before the visit have been typified by the high level of diplomatic activity on the part of the official Soviet and U.S. spokesman who have arrived in Malta in the run-up to the meeting.

USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh, and Dobrynin, a Supreme Soviet adviser, have paid a visit to the Maltese Prime Minister. Matters relating to the preparations for the meeting were discussed at the meeting, as was the present state of Maltese-Soviet relations.

Malta's Adami Cited

LD0112101789 Moscow TASS in English 0924 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Valletta December 1 TASS—The people of Malta welcome the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting held off its shores at a time of important changes in Europe. Maltese Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami told a news conference on Thursday.

"Without any doubt we are witnessing a historic event and take pride in the fact that Malta is involved in it, if only to a small degree," the Maltese leader said. Although the meeting is not likely to produce important decisions, the discussions will have great importance and usher in a new era of lasting peace, Adami said.

Malta firmly adheres to the idea of a common European home, proposed by the Soviet Union, the prime minister said.

PRAVDA on Bush Malta Preparations

PM3011175789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 89 First Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Before the Shipboard Meetings"]

[Text] Washington, 30 Dec—Final preparations are being made in the White House for G. Bush's meeting with M.S. Gorbachev off Malta 2-3 December. Over the last few days the presidential residence has been the

venue for "strategic sessions"—Bush, in closed sessions with his leading advisers, has packed the "baggage" the U.S. side is taking to the talks in the Mediterranean.

A certain part in planning Washington's line of behavior was also played—if only indirectly—by the prime ministers of Britain and Canada and the president of France. According to an announcement by a White House spokesman, Bush discussed the forthcoming meeting during a telephone conversation with FRG Chancellor Kohl today.

Until literally the very last day it was possible to discern a clear disparity in the administration as regards evaluations and forecasts. For example, according to White House Press Secretary Fitzwater, it is perfectly possible that the question of how the fast-changing situation on the European continent can lead to "considerable reductions" of both countries' armed forces and armaments will be discussed at the meeting.

Newspaper reports, interpreting the press secretary's words as a sign of Bush's readiness for "substantive discussions" on the question of reducing conventional and nuclear arms, were enough to make the President and Scowcroft, his assistant for national security affairs, freak out. This is understandable—such statements touch on the painful problem of consultations with the allies, who had only just been reassured that Bush would not agree to any arms control accords at the meeting without their knowledge and consent.

An emergency conference of high-ranking presidential apparatus staffers was convened at the White House early Tuesday morning to elaborate measures to "scale down expectations." But Bush decided to take matters into his own hands and invited a group of journalists to the Oval Office. Clearly worried and even angry, the President categorically rejected all suppositions regarding the possibility that any arms control agreements might be achieved at the meeting. Complaining about "every kind of inflated speculation," he pointed out that his initial description of the forthcoming discussions as "unofficial," without a fixed agenda, and not pursuing the goal of "substantive" discussion of arms control questions, remains in force. The President accepted that the problem of arms levels in Europe might be touched on during the conversations. Nonetheless, Bush said, if the Soviet side submits any specific proposals, he has no intention of committing himself before he consults the other NATO allies. "If you are looking for surprises, the surprise will be the fact that there will be no surprises," he declared.

As if in an attempt to finally put an end to all conjecture, Secretary of State Baker held a press conference at the White House today. He declared that the meeting off Malta coast will "take place at a unique time in Soviet-U.S. relations." In this time of great changes, Baker said, "it makes sense for the two leaders to meet for 2 days of unofficial personal conversations."

The secretary of state spoke highly of the reforms being implemented in the Soviet Union, noting: "We want to see the reforms in Soviet domestic, foreign, and military policy crowned with success... We want to see a more open, stable, and democratic Soviet Union in an open, safe, and free Europe." "The real question," he went on, "is not whether or not perestroika will be successful. The real question is this: Do you involve the Soviet Union in the quest for mutual benefit in these uncertain times? Our answer to this question is a firm 'Yes.'"

In Baker's word, this quest for mutual benefits focuses on five points, each of which will, in all probability, be touched on during the meeting. The list includes the changes in East Europe, regional conflicts, arms control, the future of perestroika and glasnost, and the state of the Soviet economy.

In other words, the secretary of state outlined the topics of forthcoming discussion as formulated, more or less firmly, by Washington. It followed from his statements that the U.S. side really does not intend to "negotiate" on arms control questions. "But," he declared, "the President would like to discuss the overall progress we have achieved in the arms control sphere and the measures we might take to accelerate progress in the future."

Concerning perestroika, Baker pointed out: "As President Gorbachev has clearly declared, perestroika's success depends on Soviet hands, Soviet brains, and Soviet will. But we are ready to help via technical and economic cooperation on a broad range of questions, from statistics to financial markets." He added that there will be a "full discussion" of the question of repealing the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which, as is well known, blocks the normal development of bilateral trade.

As is the case in Washington, the administration is obliged to try to balance the positive with the negative. This time against a background of generally constructive comments, Baker's claims that the USSR bears "responsibility" for the latest eruption of civil war in El Salvador and the continuing conflict in Afghanistan have struck a sharply discordant note. The allegations are groundless and have been refuted a number of times at the most authoritative levels in the Soviet Union. Clearly the administration needed them as a mark of deference to the American right which has been watching the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations quite anxiously.

So, what specific baggage is the U.S. delegation taking along? Will there be any surprises or not? Now, on the eve of the meeting those questions may already seem to be idle ones.

Bush Speech Prior to Departure

*LD3011224689 Moscow TASS in English 2217 GMT
30 Nov 89*

[Text] Washington December 1 TASS—"This meeting represents a point of departure, the beginning of a

process, as full of promise as any that we know," U.S. President George Bush said in his statement at the White House on Thursday.

"And given the remarkable and rapid change in Eastern Europe, our meeting will be yet another important step in this long but hopeful journey toward a Europe that is indeed whole and free".

"Your dreams for this transformation began 40 years ago when the NATO alliance was formed in the hope that one day new freedom would finally belong to the millions in Europe still yearning for it," President Bush said.

"Governments across Eastern Europe are undergoing extraordinary change and reform," he said.

"America understands the magnitude of Mr. Gorbachev's challenges, and let there be no misunderstanding, we support perestroika," Bush said. "We support Chairman Gorbachev's efforts to relax the grip of the centralized government, to move toward pluralism and the free expression of ideas. No one can deny that there is a new openness in the Soviet Union," Bush said.

"The change is dramatic. And yesterday I was gratified to see Chairman Gorbachev's rousing reception in Italy. I believe it demonstrates how deeply the people of Europe want to see change and reform continue to move forward," Bush said.

"And I believe the people of Europe can see that Mr. Gorbachev and I—east and west—are not in the same kind of competition. Rather, we're both working to make the world a more peaceful one," the U.S. President said.

"Last night, here at the White House, Barbara and I had dinner with Prime Minister Mulroney and we spoke at length with him. And this morning, I had a similar chat with Prime Minister Andreotti of Italy who met just today with Chairman Gorbachev. And his comments to me—their comments to me—Mulroney and Andreotti—only reinforce my confidence that Mr. Gorbachev and I see eye to eye on what our upcoming meeting is all about," Bush said.

"We both want to build a sustained relationship for real achievements over the long term. He's looking for ways to keep those reforms moving forward, I'm looking for ways to promote democracy and freedom.

"And the one way is to support his efforts toward reform. We can move beyond containment in the U.S.-Soviet relations and we can find areas of shared concern and mutual advantage. Above all, we can work toward a level of European security, prosperity and peace as yet unknown in our lifetime," Bush said.

"It is in this spirit that I will be talking to Chairman Gorbachev about our hopes, our concerns and our aspirations for the future," the President said. "Ours is a powerful and historic opportunity," he said. "The last

decade of this century marks the beginning of a new era, the gateway to a new millennium of freedom," the President said.

"And so as envoys for positive, productive, change, chairman Gorbachev and I can contribute to a new Europe born in our lifetime—a Europe where self-determination replaces coercion, where individual freedom replaces centralised control and a lasting peace is preserved by a common respect for the rights of way.

"And in that spirit I will extend the offered hand with confidence, conviction and real hope. This is a historic moment," the President said in conclusion.

Bush Arrives in Malta 1 Dec

LD0112103489 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Valletta December 1 TASS—U.S. President George Bush arrived in Malta on Friday for a summit meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The informal meeting will be held on December 2 and 3 on Soviet and American warships anchored off the Mediterranean Island.

According to official reports from both sides, the meeting's agenda has not yet been clearly determined. However, the two leaders are expected to discuss a wide range of topical international issues, including the situation in Europe—above all Eastern Europe—arms control and regional conflicts. Soviet and U.S. officials said the talks will naturally focus on the relations between the superpowers that have a considerable influence on world affairs.

Bush, Maltese Prime Minister Meet

LD0112163189 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Valetta December 1 TASS—U.S. President George Bush held a brief meeting with Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami of Malta here today.

After the conversation Bush visited the aircraft-carrier Forrestal which is off the coast of this Mediterranean insular nation with a squadron of American warships.

Bush Signs 1990 Military Budget Into Law

LD3011193289 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

President Bush signed a Congress-approved bill on Wednesday allocating 286 billion dollars to the Defence Department for the 1990 fiscal year. Total U.S. military spending, including budget items of the Department of Energy and other establishments, will amount to 305 billion dollars.

The main distinction of the current budget is that it cuts Administration requested spending for the "Star Wars" programme. For the first time since President Reagan announced the Strategic Defence Initiative, spending on this programme has been reduced to 3.8 billion dollars, 1.1 billion dollars less than requested by the Administration and almost 279 million below last year's figure.

The other key programmes of the U.S. Defence Department remained unaffected. The bill earmarks 4.3 billion dollars for the construction of B-2 "Stealth" strategic bombers, 430 million dollars less than requested by the Pentagon.

However, the House of Representatives and the Senate have given permission to build only two B-2 bombers in the 1990 fiscal year, costing 530 million dollars each. Senator Alan Cranston's amendment to exclude from the military budget 2.4 billion dollars needed to purchase new B-2 bombers, in addition to the 13 already under construction, was not included in the bill.

The Pentagon has received funds for several other military programmes—construction of 18 new F-14D fighters and research connected with the development of a vertical take-off "Osprey" aircraft which will cost 225 million dollars.

The document signed by the President also earmarks 1.1 billion dollars for rail-based MX strategic nuclear missiles and construction of mobile Midgetman ballistic missiles. This is 150 million less than requested by the White House. The bill stipulates the deployment of 50 MX missiles.

President Bush said in a written statement that he signed the bill despite his disagreement with some of its provisions, especially those that belittle the President's constitutional rights to shape military policy.

The President is concerned about the fact that some of these provisions affect his right not to inform Congress on details of the Administration's most important steps in the military-political domain. This includes information on the state and progress of negotiations with U.S. NATO allies on the SDI programme, with Japan—on its participation in the financing of U.S. Armed Forces and military installations on Japanese territory—and with the Philippines on the future of major U.S. naval and air force bases in the country.

The President's statement, as seen from the initial reaction of news services, shows to some extent that tension is mounting between the White House and Congress, in which the Republicans are in the minority.

During the lengthy military budget debate, some congressmen said the time had come for a more realistic approach to the financing of the U.S. military establishment in the light of major world changes, particularly in Soviet-American relations.

Cheney Views on Denuclearized Mediterranean Noted
PM3011165389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 89 First Edition p 7

[Vladimir Chernyshev "Viewpoint" article: "Not Deterrence But Restraint"]

[Text] Speaking about the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting off Malta's coast a few days ago, U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney expressed his viewpoint regarding the idea of transforming the Mediterranean into a zone free from nuclear weapons. Anticipating the possibility that this problem might be discussed at the summit meeting, even though it is well known that the sides have not made any announcement regarding a specific agenda, the minister deemed it necessary to warn that he rejects this suggestion. "For a number of years," Cheney declared, "the Soviet Union has periodically put forward the idea of creating zones free from nuclear weapons. Frankly speaking, we do not consider these ideas productive."

Never mind, frankness can only be welcomed, especially as it is increasingly firmly becoming the norm of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. But what is it that the defense secretary dislikes about the proposal which Moscow has put forward "for a number of years"? "The point is," Cheney declared, "that nuclear weapons—the nuclear deterrent potential—have for 40 years served as the key element of our successful strategy."

Traditions in international politics are a significant factor, but the fact that for 40 years Washington has stubbornly perceived nuclear weapons as a key element in the strategy for deterring the potential opponent is by no means an argument in favor of perpetuating this course, especially in our time of fast-changing situations.

Nor does Cheney believe that the Soviet proposals on the Mediterranean "are of much help in general efforts to relax tension at a lower level on both sides."

It would be an oversimplification to think that, in the U.S. defense secretary's opinion, tension in this strategic and explosive region of the world will diminish as the number of U.S. "means of deterrence," in other words nuclear weapons, increases there. The experienced chief of the military department is hardly guided by such a dubious logic, especially now that the world's peoples are increasingly insistently advocating a nuclear-free world and the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the beginning of the next century, demanding that the policy of nuclear deterrence be replaced by military-political restraint.

Incidentally, President G. Bush declared last week that the two countries' leaders will "embark on many years' work" off Malta's coast. He told the Soviet Union to join in efforts "to go beyond the policy of deterrence, to a new cooperation." The Soviet Union has repeatedly declared and proves in practice that it sincerely advocates the

utmost development of cooperation between our countries, perceiving it as an integral element in easing tension and strengthening peace all over the world.

One would like to believe that the very fact that the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders is being held off the coast of Malta, on whose territory and in whose territorial waters nuclear weapons are banned, will serve a symbol of the two countries' desire to ensure that the entire Mediterranean is finally freed from deadly arsenals and really becomes a zone of peace and good-neighborliness.

China

'Bourgeois Ideas' Not 'Main Cause' of Corruption
OW0112091889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1115 GMT 28 Nov 89

[From the "World Today" program by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] While speaking at the conference of heads of procurators' offices, which is taking place in Beijing, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said that the primary and most urgent task facing the country is the stabilization of the domestic situation. He emphasized that it is necessary to stabilize not only China's political situation, but its economic situation as well. In this connection, the procurators' offices should ensure public order, protect state interests and the citizens' lawful rights, and resolutely stop all kinds of criminal activity.

According to reports from the Chinese press, the main danger lies in the rampant corruption. It has been noted, for example, that, as a result of the expansion of foreign relations, certain bourgeois ideas have entered China through the wide-open doors. However, these ideas cannot be considered the main cause of corruption in China. The roots of this phenomenon lie inside the country.

Numerous party and economic functionaries have misused their position for selfish purposes and have engaged in bribe-taking and illegal commercial activities in recent years. The spread of corruption not only has undermined the prestige of the party and government among the people, but also has had a negative effect on the sentiments and economic development of society.

Here is another report on the same topic: The Shanghai Television Studio has started shooting a six-part film about problems with regard to the struggle with corruption. This Chinese version of *The Octopus* will be based on factual materials on the activity of Guan Dao, the Chinese word for officials sitting in various offices profiteering because of their position.

Commentator on Economic Cooperation With PRC

*OW0112092289 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0200 GMT 15 Nov 89*

[Commentary by station commentator Mitin—from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, you probably know that Soviet-Chinese relations are a major topic on our program. This is quite natural because the issue of Soviet-Chinese relations is indeed important. That is why the world paid close attention to the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in Beijing last May. Let us recall the early 1980's, a period when the Soviet Union and China began to carry out the first nondiplomatic contacts after a 20-year period of estrangement. The process of rapprochement led this year to a happy ending—the complete normalization of relations. This undoubtedly is of great significance for both the Soviet and Chinese peoples. After all, it is a natural and new stage in the further and revitalized development of cooperative relations between the two countries. While cooperation continues in all fields, cooperation between regions in both countries intensifies. A delegation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], one of our country's republics, returned from a visit to China not long ago. Let us listen to Vinogradov, head of the delegation and minister of foreign affairs of the RSFSR:

[Begin Vinogradov recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] We have visited Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin. We have met and worked with representatives of people's governments in those three provinces on drafting cooperative agreements with the RSFSR. It is very convenient to cooperate with the three provinces in China's northeast. However, we have encountered certain difficulties in implementing the development and assistance plans. Among these are labor shortages and the long distance from our industrial center. The Amur separates the Soviet Union from China's northeast provinces. The commodity markets in these provinces need raw materials. Our Far East regions have plenty of them. The mutually beneficial cooperation between the RSFSR and China's northeast provinces is good for the two countries.

Trade and economic ties cannot wait. The Soviet Far East and China's northeast provinces are promoting ties actively. The Chinese side suggested setting up plants to produce televisions, fax machines, and computers. A joint venture plant producing refrigerators has started production in (Leninskoye). [end recording]

Listeners and friends, a delegation headed by Shao Qihui, governor of the Heilongjiang Provincial People's Government, is currently on an official visit to our country. He will hold talks with the RSFSR foreign minister. We will report on his visit in more detail in later programs.

CPC Official Cited on Role of Mass Media

*PM2811120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4*

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Is Criticism Needed?"]

[Text] Beijing—"Criticism? Its role is secondary. Positive propaganda above all." That, believes Li Ruihuan, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, should be the guiding principle of the socialist mass media.

It was from this viewpoint that he addressed a national symposium on the discussion of the work of the mass media in which the chief editors of the party newspapers of all provinces and cities of central subordination and autonomous regions took part.

"Everything which encourages the struggle for the nation's prosperity and might, people's happiness, and social progress—that is how we understand the positive things which should be reported," Li Ruihuan said. In his view the mass media should give precise and prompt notification of the party line, principles, and specific policy, pick up the main trend of social life, and form a public opinion favorable to political stability.

But what about criticism? In Li Ruihuan's opinion critical reports should occupy a secondary position in the work of the mass media.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Aquino Requests U.S. Aid to Suppress Coup

*LD0112100489 Moscow TASS in English 0958 GMT
1 Dec 89*

[Text] Tokyo December 1 TASS—Philippine President Corazon Aquino today asked the command of the U.S. troops in the Philippines for aid to suppress a military coup attempt that began last night.

In a speech that followed the bombardment of the Presidential Palace, Aquino emphasized that she would use any means available to suppress the coup attempt.

According to reports reaching here, U.S. President George Bush has sanctioned granting U.S. military aid to the Philippine Government.

Gorbachev Aide Approves

*AU0112115089 Paris AFP in English 0935 GMT
1 Dec 89*

[Text] Paris, Dec 1 (AFP)—A top Soviet Government official said Friday that he "understood" the possible U.S. military support for forces loyal to President Corazon Aquino during the current rebellion in the Philippines. Andrey Krachev, a close aide to Soviet

President Mikhail Gorbachev, said in a Europe 1 radio interview from Rome that "democracy must be defended."

A military coup attempt was launched early Friday against Mrs. Aquino's government. It is the sixth coup attempt against her after less than four years in power.

"If (the military intervention) is part of the arrangements made between the two governments, then it's useful," Mr. Krachev said in Rome, where he is accompanying Mr. Gorbachev during the Soviet leader's historic meeting with Pope John Paul II. Mr. Krachev, deputy head of the international branch of the Communist Party's central committee, learned of the possible intervention during the interview. He said he saw U.S. military backing for Mrs. Aquino as "a confirmation of the positive development of the situation, which gives us hope that all future conflicts...can be resolved through understanding but also through a certain solidarity between those of different politics and ideologies."

Asked whether his government acknowledged that all democratically-elected governments had the right to be defended from opposing forces, "revolutionary or not," Mr. Krachev said that "democracy must be maintained but also defended."

EEC Parliament Stand on Cambodia Praised

*BK2911053789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1100 GMT 28 Nov 89*

[By station observer Viktor Valentinov]

[Text] Lately, our editorial office has received reports primarily concerning the situation in Cambodia. Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, analyzes the most important portion of the news as follows:

We wish to start with the fighting in Cambodia. As listeners are already aware, following the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia in September, the Cambodian opposition groups, which have safe haven on Thai territory, immediately launched vigorous military offensives. It was predicted that the opposing forces would be able to carry out their activities everywhere, even in the central region of Cambodia. However, the prediction was not at all accurate. Some townships in areas close to the Thai border which were abandoned by government forces in October are now under the control of the Phnom Penh government once again. Late last week, the Pol-Potist Khmer Rouge's attempt to capture a township located on the route linking Phnom Penh and Battambang Province was thwarted. The military situation can now be assessed as stable, since the offensives mounted by the antagonistic groups have become ineffective.

What is happening now is an attempt to arrange a new round of political talks between the warring Cambodian parties. It is worth noting that Thailand, where territory has been arrogantly used by the Cambodian opposition groups, is in agreement with this matter. Thailand, in

accord with Vietnam, recently issued a statement endorsing the Indonesian proposal to organize another informal meeting in Jakarta between the Cambodian factions with participation by other parties concerned.

Thai Deputy Prime Minister Pichai Rattakun on a recent visit to Hanoi agreed with his Vietnamese counterparts to establish a joint commission to promote bilateral economic and trade cooperation. The agreement is of vital importance. In my opinion, discord on the Cambodian issue might have hindered the expansion of the relations which can provide reciprocal interests in other fields.

For its part, Cambodia has earnestly striven to develop its relations with other countries, including its traditional counterparts—such as the Soviet Union—as well as those having no relations with Phnom Penh to date. A protocol on Soviet-Cambodian trade cooperation and settlement for 1990 was signed in Moscow on 25 November. The document plans for the expansion of mutual trade: The Soviet Union will sell Cambodia machinery and other building equipment and will buy from Cambodia agricultural products such as rubber resin, costly timber, and so on.

Among other countries, the British Government is reportedly considering the possibility of establishing official relations with Phnom Penh and recognizing the State of Cambodia legally as well. London's stand has a positive influence upon the European Parliament. An important group of deputies in the European Parliament has called on all the EEC member countries to legally recognize the Phnom Penh Government and to establish trade relations with it. The appeal was also conveyed to the U.S. Government. In the opinion of the European Parliament members, establishing relations with the State of Cambodia would help prevent the Pol-Potist Khmer Rouge from regaining power. The European Parliament, in its resolution, underlines the need for the EEC foreign ministers to enforce measures to isolate the Khmer Rouge diplomatically and militarily. This should also be done at the United Nations.

As we have seen, the position of the Western European Parliament members has become firmer than expected. Their actions are more resolute than those of the United Nations. Last week, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution which leaves a loophole for the Khmer Rouge to return to power in Cambodia, our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, says in conclusion.

Prospects of Jakarta Meeting on Cambodia Viewed

*BK2111043989 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 20 Nov 89*

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Comrade Hun Sen has expressed his readiness to participate in a new round of planned informal meetings on Cambodia in Jakarta. The Sihanouk and Son Sann groups have likewise disclosed their willingness to attend

such talks, which have also been endorsed by the ASEAN countries, Vietnam, and France.

It is obvious that another informal meeting on Cambodia will take place very soon, but the Khmer Rouge group has not yet given a positive answer to the proposal. Its armed forces are striving to score military successes in western Cambodia at present, although it is clear that the government forces have been able to hold back the Khmer Rouge offensive. However, according to observers, the Khmer Rouge leaders will surely send a delegation to Jakarta.

According to the proposal initiated by Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan, all the parties concerned at the planned meeting should focus their attention on achieving agreement on a cease-fire in Cambodia and the setting up of an international control mechanism to supervise and verify the cessation of military aid to the Cambodian parties and the cessation of all interference in Cambodia's internal affairs. It is vital that the Cambodian parties make reciprocal concessions in order to settle their country's internal affairs and, particularly, to solve the question of future political power in Cambodia.

As it has indicated, Phnom Penh, adhering to the principle of national reconciliation, is prepared to make concessions by taking into account the intention of the opposition groups. Nevertheless, the Cambodian people can never agree on dangerous concessions which would allow the genocidal Pol Pot regime to return to power. This stand should be clearly understood by those who continue to back the Pol Pot clique by extending military aid to it. After the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, there is no pretext whatsoever to justify the supply of military aid to the Khmer Rouge with the aim of enabling them to oppose the so-called foreign occupation. The continuation of aid to the Pol Pot gang is tantamount to encouraging them in their attempt to retake power.

It is hard to make any prediction on the prospects of the planned Jakarta informal meeting, because before arriving at a definitive solution to the Cambodian problem countless meetings will have to be held. However, political dialogue is the only sound approach toward doing away with the bloodshed and settling the conflict in Cambodia peacefully.

Near East & South Asia

Israel's Peres To Visit Moscow 25 Dec

TA3011202789 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Hebrew 1600 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Aleksandr Kushnir announcer-read commentary]

[Text] We have recently been witnessing a significant expansion of contacts between the USSR and Israel at all levels. In recent months, delegations of cultural figures, scientists, and businessmen from Georgia, Armenia, and the Baltic republics have visited Israel. For instance,

soccer players from Tbilisi and handball players from Lithuania are currently visiting Israel. Next month, the distinguished scientist Andrey Sakharov will be visiting Israel to participate in the international symposium on Society and Policy at the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot. Besides participating in the symposium, he will also be received by the president of the state, the government, and the Knesset, and will visit Yad Vashem [Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem].

The possibilities for Israelis to visit the USSR are now much greater. Knesset Member Efrayim Gur recently visited Georgia. Large groups of Israeli journalists visited Tbilisi and Moscow. By the way, they also visited our radio station. We also had meetings with representatives of the Israel Festival, and we reached an agreement on the possibility of meeting next year in Jerusalem.

First, we would like to point out that the USSR and Israel are moving toward normalizing relations. Here, we would especially like to point out that the initiative is popular diplomacy, not official diplomacy. For instance, Israel's Agriculture Minister Avraham Katz-Oz is currently visiting Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and on 25 December Vice Prime Minister Shim'on Peres will visit the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Council, which by the way initiated our radio station.

What about official relations? It is difficult to determine when they will be renewed. I believe that the lack of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel is an abnormal situation. We could now discuss at length whether the previous leadership was or was not correct in 1967 when it decided to sever relations, but talk will not change reality. What has already happened is history, the question is what to do from now. For me, the main question is whether the ruling circles in Israel are prepared to withdraw from the occupied territories, recognize the rights of the Palestinian people, and thereby open the way to Middle East peace. If the answer is affirmative, then diplomatic relations will be resumed soon.

By the way, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed this point on various occasions, and I believe his position is now also realistic. Here is only one quote from the Soviet leader's speech several months ago: On the resumption of relations with Israel, I believe that if the situation in the Middle East is normalized we will be able to begin discussing this issue. There will no longer be obstacles before us. Those were Mikhail Gorbachev's remarks. In my view, Aleksandr Kushnir writes, that is a correct and realistic stand. We want to have peaceful relations with a State of Israel that aspires to peace and does not violate the legal rights of the Palestinian people, and has good relations with the neighboring countries. But before there is a resumption of official diplomatic ties, we, the Soviet public, are prepared to expand and develop relations with peace movements, cultural figures, scientific institutions, and other institutions in the Jewish state, because relations between people are the best way to develop mutual understanding.

Afghanistan's Keshmand Condemns U.S. 'Terrorism'

LD3011184989 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—"Gorbachev's visit to Italy is of world-wide historic importance," Sultan 'Ali Keshmand, member of the Politburo of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the Executive Committee of the republic's Council of Ministers, here on an unofficial visit, told TASS.

Keshmand said he shares the opinion of the Soviet president who declared that the Soviet Union and Italy play an important role in ensuring peace in Europe and the whole world.

He said that the situation in Europe requires the cooperation of Western and Eastern countries because it is only by joint efforts that a common European home can be built.

Gorbachev's forthcoming unofficial meeting with Bush which evokes great interest in the world should become another step in the improvement of Soviet-American relations on the state of which the solution of many global problems depend, Keshmand stressed.

He expressed hope that George Bush's first meeting as U.S. President with the Soviet president will continue the improvement of Soviet-American relations which started several years ago.

The meeting should lead to the stepping up of arms control and to the further easing of tension, he said.

The problem of a political settlement related to Afghanistan is another important problem whose solution should not be delayed.

He said he believed the leaders of the two countries should find common, mutually-acceptable approaches to the solution of this problem.

The U.S. Administration has not abandoned attempts to influence events in Afghanistan.

The Armed Afghan opposition supported by the United States continues to stage terroristic acts against Afghanistan's civilian population with the use of arms supplied by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and some other countries. The U.S. Administration holds an ambiguous stand, Keshmand said. It condemns terrorism and simultaneously supports terror with regard to a whole nation, he said.

Text of Vorontsov Interview on Mideast

PM3011162189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed interview with Yuliy M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister: "Cutting the Near East Knot"—no place or date of interview given]

[Text] [IZVESTIYA] Yuliy Mikhaylovich, by decision of the UN General Assembly, 29 November is marked as

International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People. It is also worth recalling the following important landmark: It is a year since the 19th session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] held in Algiers adopted a constructive political platform. In this context, it would be interesting to hear your appraisal of the situation in the Near East and the prospects for a solution to the Palestinian problem.

[Vorontsov] Indeed, the decisions of the 19th PNC session were an important landmark in the Near East region's political life, and I shall come back to them.

As regards the reply to your question, first of all I would like to emphasize the following: A sober appraisal of the situation, clarity of vision, and the elaboration of realistic measures to achieve an all-embracing settlement in the Near East are now more urgent and topical than ever before.

It is said at times, also by politicians and political scientists, that the maintenance of a smoldering conflict in this region—even with the buildup of military might by states situated there—is not in itself a threat to international security. It is also claimed that the Palestinians' mass demonstrations against the occupation, which have lasted 2 years already, are nothing but "stone throwing," a show of bravado by unarmed people facing the Israeli Army. There are even occasions when such superficial appraisals can be encountered in our own press. In opposing hasty actions, the supporters of this approach in essence rule out any opportunity of achieving a decisive breakthrough toward ensuring peace and security for all states and peoples in the Near East and satisfying the Palestinian people's national rights.

We perceive the Near East situation in a different light. The fact that the Arab-Israeli conflict is protracted does not in any way diminish its acuteness, as demonstrated by the entire atmosphere of confrontation, the thundercloud hanging over relations between the Arabs and Israel. The appearance of mass destruction weapons in the region seems to extend the scale of Arab-Israeli confrontation, taking it in essence beyond the regional framework. News of nuclear and chemical weapons being stockpiled in the region and of missile programs being accelerated cannot but cause profound worry. It is clear that, with such weapons, a new armed conflict in the region would result in unprecedented loss of human life and would have an unpredictable effect on the world situation as a whole. Suffice it to recall that the October 1973 war in the Near East forced the great powers to put their military arsenals, including nuclear weapons, in a state of combat readiness.

It is of course possible and necessary to seek ways and means to reduce the level of confrontation. Our specific proposals in this regard were put forward by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze during his February 1989 tour of the Near East. We are convinced of the need for immediate practical steps to unblock the conflict in the Near East so as to create a new model of

mutual relations there in the foreseeable future. This model ought to be based on the primacy of universally recognized norms and mainstays of international law, the principles of equal security and free development for all states and peoples in the Near East.

Coming back to the present situation, I ought to emphasize another aspect, or rather axiom of the Near East conflict: Security and stability in the region will be impossible to achieve without a radical solution to the Palestinian problem. The uprising of Palestinians in the territories occupied by Israel is a completely new phenomenon, an exceptionally far-reaching development rooted in the Palestinian people's fundamental aspirations. This is the first time ever that the Palestinians have struggled for their right to self-determination so purposefully and deliberately while maintaining consistently democratic and nonviolent positions. There are figures even in Israel's political leadership who admit that they have encountered a movement impossible to stifle by military means.

Unfortunately, the majority in Israel's government still occupies different positions, hoping for an effect from the hardening of repressions. Not a day passes without alarming reports of fresh loss of life, acts of violence against the civilian population, breaches of elementary human rights, arrests, and deportations. The flawed nature of these actions lies not so much in their immorality but in the fact that they slam the door to the political alternative. They are also totally inconsistent strategically: One of the lessons for mankind taught by 20th century history is that any suppression of another people's national will is a hopeless endeavor and will inevitably boomerang against whoever is trying to do this.

[IZVESTIYA] Can a sensible way out be found out of this dead-end situation? Does the long history of the Palestinian problem not encourage pessimism?

[Vorontsov] Experience shows that the settlement of conflicts, especially those stemming from interethnic dissension, always presupposes a quest for mutually acceptable solutions. Unless sights are set on specific practical results, there can be no progress.

This applies in full to the Palestinian question. There is no alternative to solving it on the basis of recognizing the Palestinians' right to self-determination. This is not just a question of the fact that the right to self-determination was reaffirmed by the current UN General Assembly session, which approved the Soviet-U.S. joint resolution aimed at ensuring international security. The implementation of this right directly conforms with the fundamental interests of all peoples in the Near East, including the Israeli people.

I already said that the decisions of the 19th PNC session marked an important landmark. The PLO publicly recognized Israel's right to exist, recognized UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis of a

political settlement, and declared its readiness to conduct peace talks with Israel within the framework of an international conference, as well as the unacceptability of all forms of terrorism. The Palestinians consistently apply these principles in their practical policies. It is an equally important fact that the Palestinian platform was supported by the Arab summit conference in Casablanca. In other words, the Palestinians and Arabs have displayed due realism, a desire to achieve mutually acceptable solutions, and a readiness to take Israel's interests into account.

But the Palestinians have once more come up against Israel's unwillingness to recognize the PLO as a partner. This is regrettable, especially as history provides different examples from the past. Back in 1947, when the question of whether Israel should or should not exist was being decided, the Jewish Agency displayed flexibility and a sense of realism. Its representatives, and Israel's future Foreign Minister Abba Eban in particular, withdrew many groundless demands like, for example, the claim to all of Jerusalem and the so-called Western Galilee. The Arabs were the ones that were short on flexibility at the time. Had they recognized at that stage UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947 and its key principle of "one land—two peoples," the tragic cycle of violence might have been broken at the very beginning.

In the Soviet Union's opinion, the main task today is to demolish stagnant political stereotypes which obstruct the start of the peace process. Israel's government must heed the voice of reason and meet the Arabs halfway.

In this context, by the way, it is impossible to overlook the fact that the thesis about "defensible borders" and the West Bank's strategic importance for Israel's security has largely lost its importance in the conditions created by missile technology. The "Intifada" has totally discredited the idea of painless integration of the occupied territories. A situation has developed whereby the maintenance of the occupation is based only on a dubious and extremely dangerous "justification"—references to biblical traditions. But this basis is highly shaky and no viable policy can be built on it in the late 20th century.

Judging by everything, people in Israel are becoming aware of these truths. Many in the Labor Party, for example, realize that arguments justifying the occupation and the refusal to recognize the Palestinian people's national rights can no longer work. An attempt to meet the challenge of the time was made by the plan, proposed by Israel's government, to hold elections in the occupied territories. From our point of view, the actual idea of elections is a democratic principle. But importance also attaches to its implementation, the guarantees of impartiality and free conduct of elections, and mainly their position in the overall process of establishing peace. The six months that have passed since the plan was put forward have simply failed to clarify many of its provisions.

Of course, this analysis does not mean that we are "closed" to new ideas. The quest for compromise solutions must be continued along this and other avenues, with the sphere of efforts being expanded so as to finally arrive at the convening of an international conference on the Near East settlement, which remains the main target.

It is from this angle that we examine the organization of an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue which would make it possible to launch the peace process. The Palestinians' position is clear and constructive: They are in favor of such a dialogue, bearing in mind that questions associated with it will be resolved with the active participation of the PLO.

The hitch is that Israel is totally unwilling to reconcile itself to the obvious—the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and there simply is no other such representative. The main point now is not to miss the opportunity, to find political will and a certain amount of pragmatism. The Soviet Union, for its part, is ready to help in organizing an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

[IZVESTIYA] Recently one has sometimes seen voiced in the press the opinion that a settlement would be promoted by the USSR's recognition of Israel and the establishment of diplomatic relations with it. What could you say on this score?

[Vorontsov] This is an important problem, and, unfortunately, there is much confusion surrounding it. The question of Soviet recognition of Israel was removed back in 1948. We recognize the State of Israel both as a political reality and de jure.

Diplomatic relations are another matter. Speaking in general terms, the absence of such relations is an anomaly. But it must be borne in mind that the breaking off of relations in 1967 is a fact of history which had serious political grounds.

For as long as Israel does not agree to move toward a settlement, to take steps toward convening an international conference, what would the resumption of diplomatic relations symbolize? Would it not be perceived in Israel, and indeed in the world in general, as abandonment of support for the Palestinians' just struggle? There is no cause to doubt that there are in Israel people who would like to see our policy precisely from this standpoint.

But we are not cordoning ourselves off from Israel with an iron curtain. The absence of diplomatic relations does not impede the development of contacts between our peoples, or the strengthening of cultural ties. It is no secret that many Soviet emigrants live in Israel who have no wish to break off their spiritual ties with the country in which they were born and raised. Nor are political contacts suffering. When the need arises they are pursued at the most diverse levels, including meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers.

So I wouldn't begin to depict the situation in a single color. We sincerely hope that the evolution of the Israeli position will ultimately allow our relations to be properly arranged.

But it is important to remember that time does not wait. It is the shared task of the Near East peoples and the entire international community not to miss the opportunity to move toward a just peace.

East Europe

Results of Mazowiecki USSR Visit Praised

PM3011140389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 29 Nov 89 Single Edition p 5

[I. Nekrasov article: "Via Realism to Understanding. New Page in Soviet-Polish Relations"]

[Text] "A clear understanding of our mutual aims is important for us," Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki said on the eve of his official visit to Moscow. Let us note that this was the first time in the history of postwar Poland that a noncommunist chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers had visited the Soviet Union. On his departure for the USSR, Mazowiecki made no secret of the fact that complex tasks lay before him. It is also natural that the course of the visit concerned all of us Soviet people no less than the Poles—our neighbors in the common European home that is being built. And it is also no secret that the entire world intently followed the talks in the Kremlin. That is, T. Mazowiecki's talks with M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov, which, as the participants noted, opened a new page in the history of Soviet-Polish and Polish-Soviet relations.

I would like to return the reader briefly to events which took place almost 3 months ago. Then, in early September, I happened to be in Poland on editorial business. It was precisely at that time that many Poles were trying to determine: What will be the disposition of political forces in the country's cabinet of ministers? What will be the new premier's program? Then I asked Leszek Miller, member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, what he thought about the premier who had just entered the post. My interlocutor answered: "He is a man who weighs his words and does not make hasty decisions. His strong point is that he always listens to his opponents' opinion. Mazowiecki is a worthy politician." Let us trust Miller's opinion, after all, during the "roundtable," which was historic for Poland, he sat literally opposite Mazowiecki and dealt with him directly. And here is what a public opinion poll conducted recently by the public opinion research center under the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs showed. It turned out that among Poland's politicians T. Mazowiecki, the chief of the government, is the absolute leader, collecting more than 80 percent of the votes (followed by Lech Walesa and Wojciech Jaruzelski).

The prime minister came to Moscow at the head of a large delegation. It is not surprising that priority at the Soviet-Polish talks was given to questions of cooperation, and mainly to restructuring the mechanisms of cooperation in the coming 5-year plan and in the longer term. As M. Swiecicki, Polish minister for foreign economic cooperation, noted, on the whole the partnership's directions are well known, and only the details need to be discussed thoroughly. There were other ministers and also deputy ministers in the Polish delegation. The starting point of relations with the Soviet Union, the Polish speakers noted, is Poland's sovereignty and independence, and also full respect for bilateral obligations. It was stressed that the USSR remains for Poland the guarantor of national security and its first partner in economic cooperation.

As is known, our country accounts for one-third of Poland's foreign trade exchange. A lot of raw materials, machinery and equipment are sent to Poland from the USSR. Let us look at the statistics. Thus Poland receives 90 percent of its crude oil, 100 percent of its natural gas, 95 percent of its iron ore, more than 80 percent of its manganese and chromium, 65 percent of its cotton and 100 percent of its timber from the USSR. If we add to this motor vehicles, aircraft, everyday equipment, and other equipment, then the significance of mutually advantageous partnership for our countries becomes obvious.

A meeting with representatives of Polish associations in the Soviet Union was a separate and very important item in the program of Mazowiecki's stay in Moscow. It took place literally a few hours before the premier's departure for Smolensk, and thence for Katyn. Accompanied by a large group of Polish and Western journalists, Mazowiecki cordially addressed representatives of associations from Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moscow, Leningrad, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Siberia, and Latvia assembled (and this was another first) in the Polish Embassy building.

"Time and historical circumstances have changed the surnames of many of us, along with the entry in our passports in the column marked 'nationality,'" the address by the "Dom Polski" cultural association operating in the Russian Federation says. "But now we can talk boldly about our origin, remember the language of our fathers and grandfathers, which has now been forgotten by many of us, and teach it to our children so that it will begin to be heard today along with the voices of our countries' other peoples."

Let us not forget that about 2 million Poles live in the USSR. Many of them live in the territory of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (according to the last census, about 100,000 people).

Incidentally, when Mazowiecki was heading for Leningrad from Katyn, the "Dom Polski" association appealed to all Soviet citizens, Polish citizens, and everyone who is not indifferent to the ideas of friendship

and cooperation among peoples of all nationalities. The association proposes setting up in the near future a Center of Remembrance in Katyn.

This action better than any words "removes" the problem of "blank spots" which in many respects is extremely painful for the Poles. Of course, it is hardly possible to solve all the questions right away in a visit lasting a few days. But the very fact that they have been raised gives hope for further progress, especially when we have many years of experience in cooperation behind us. And one cannot fail to agree with the opinion expressed in TRYBUNA LUDU, which stresses that the activity of T. Mazowiecki's cabinet is starting not from scratch but on the firm foundation of Polish and Soviet political and economic cooperation. This is a reliable gain of Polish left-wing forces, which have accomplished an historic turnaround in relations between the two neighboring countries, the newspaper noted.

The Polish prime minister's visit to the USSR has ended. Its results will be discussed by politicians. But the main result is already obvious—an important step forward has been made in the direction of genuine partnership and equal cooperation. Incidentally, the Polish guests also noted this—the democratization of life in Poland became possible only thanks to support from the Soviet Union and the policy of the new thinking.

TASS Notes U.S. Delegation's Visit to Poland

LD0112143489 Moscow TASS in English 1337 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw December 1 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Valentin Volkov:

A United States delegation which included members of President George Bush's cabinet and top industrialists is visiting Poland to assess the Polish economic reforms and see what aid the United States can give to Poland to promote its private sector and bring government economic programmes into line with the requirements of the International Monetary Fund.

On Thursday, the delegation was received by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who praised the United States for trying to help Poland. "Among tumultuous changes in Eastern Europe, reforms in Poland are of primary importance, and we are determined to continue them in a peaceful and evolutionary manner," Mazowiecki said. Economic aid from the United States is fundamental for Polish reforms, he said.

U.S. Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter, who heads the delegation, said economic reforms were lagging behind political changes.

Poland must create a favourable political and economic climate to promote cooperation, especially in agriculture, he said.

Polish and U.S. agricultural ministers signed an agreement on U.S. food aid to Poland. The United States also

agreed to allocate about 4 million dollars to help reorganise the Polish labour market.

U.S. Trade Minister Robert Mosbacher met Polish business representatives to discuss American aid to the Polish private sector. The United States will give 240 million dollars in aid to help set up private enterprises in various industries, Mosbacher said, hinting that the sum could increase in the future. A team of U.S. experts and Polish managers will be set up to preside over the distribution of the aid.

The U.S. delegation visited several ministries and plants. "We are well aware that Western partners expect guarantees for the continuation of reforms in Poland," Bronislaw Gieremek, leader of Poland's Civil Parliamentary Club, told the visitors at a meeting in parliament. These guarantees lie in public trust in the current government, he said. "We expect similar trust from our American partners," Gieremek said, assuring the visitors that Poland will make the reforms irreversible.

Polish Volunteer Militia Detachments Disbanded

*PM0112094689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin report: "No More Volunteer Detachments"]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Nov—The voluntary detachments of civil militia (ORMO), reminiscent in many ways of our volunteer people's militia, have been in existence in Poland for a long time, since 1946, to be precise. The difference is that the Polish "volunteers" had the right to use weapons during patrols and operations.

Immediately after the war, the "ORMO" men were called upon to maintain order in the territory of the newly reunited Polish lands. The functions of the militia's assistants later were widened. The numerical strength of the ORMO recently has been some 330,000. But the other day, the Polish Sejm adopted a law on the abolition of these detachments.

What was the reason for this decision? It is well known that in Poland now many social organizations and movements are calling for the army, militia, enterprises, and institutions to be taken out of the sphere of influence of the parties. There is talk of taking the party committees out of the confines of production territories. Political directorates and the corresponding sections are being abolished in military and paramilitary units and sub-units.

The civil militia detachments are also deemed to be an unequivocally politicized service. The economic costs of retaining the public element in the sphere of the protection of order have been calculated. The ORMO, the Sejm was told, occupied more than 17,000 premises in the country, swallowing up some Z675 million a year from the state budget.

Not all the Sejm deputies supported the proposal to disband the detachments. Thus, Deputy S. Babinski from the Polish United Workers Party, speaking at the session, drew the attention of the supreme organ to the fact that ORMO members, among whom were a good many workers, farmers, teachers, and lawyers, fulfilled their functions not because of the idea of some kind of "totalitarian system" in the state, but with the sole desire to ensure order and safety for citizens.

Second Attack on Lenin Monument in Krakow Noted

*LD3011202389 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT
30 Nov 89*

[Text] Warsaw November 30 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Pershin:

Polish extremists launched late on Wednesday [30 November] another attack on a monument to Vladimir Lenin in a working-class district in Krakow, a city the Soviet Army saved from total destruction 44 years ago.

The first act of vandalism took place on November 22 when a mob defiled Lenin's monument in the Nova-Huta District.

One of Soviet founder Vladimir Lenin's first acts when he came to power was the signing of a decree that gave independence to Poland from Russia.

A Polish Government spokesman denounced the attack, as did the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. The Krakow procurator ordered a criminal investigation into the incident.

Wednesday's attack was organized by young extremists from the "Alternative Movement" and the "Orange Alternative," who distributed leaflets calling on residents to dismantle the monument and bring ropes, paint and bottles with petrol to the site.

Security forces, deployed by the government to maintain order in Nova-Huta, blocked passage to the monument.

Several hundred extremists and more than a thousand onlookers chanted "militia - gestapo," "Soviets go home" and "down with the commune." Some shouted insults about Lenin. Police had to use tear gas and water cannon to disperse a crowd armed with metal bars, bottles and clubs.

Nineteen militiamen were hurt in the clashes, the TRYBUNA LUDU newspaper reported. One of the officers was badly wounded in the stomach. None of the protesters was detained, police officials said.

The protesters finally dispersed after pleas for moderation from solidarity parliamentary Deputy Edward Nowak, who promised to raise the issue about the monument in parliament. Leaving the square, the demonstrators chanted "we will return in a week."

In a statement published on Friday, the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo denounced anti-Soviet provocations, including the defiling of the Lenin monument in Nova-Huta.

It is a short road from attacks on monuments and persecution for convictions, from destruction of monuments—to killing people, totalitarianism and dictatorship.

The public expression of opinion to these sad facts illustrates the extent of genuine attitudes to democracy, the document said.

Karpov Cited on Malta Meeting, GDR Annexation

*LD3011173489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1439 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Text] Valletta (ADN)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov has rejected any comparison of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting with the Yalta Conference of 1945. In a talk with ADN special correspondent Manfred Quiring in the Maltese capital Valletta, he stated that the USSR and the United States would indeed take into account the objective processes taking place in Europe during this meeting. But, they do not intend to force recipes on Europe. The Soviet Union supports the spirit of change in Europe and holds the view that the development of democratic structures in all European states is leading the continent nearer to an all-European home.

Karpov put forward the view at the same time that certain dangers for future peaceful changes lay in the growth of revanchist ideas in the FRG. It is dangerous to want to solve the problem of Central Europe by means of the annexation of the GDR. The politician recalled the historical reality of the two German states. Mutual respect for their sovereignty is the pledge for any further development in Europe.

No one is against the further development of economic, political, and cultural relations between the GDR and the FRG, but many Europeans are shocked by the thought of a "Fourth Reich". The Gorbachev-Bush summit will regard the situation in this light.

Lack of 'Freedom and Truth' Spurs GDR Exodus

*90U10139A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 47, 22 Nov 89 p 14*

[Article by Oleg Bitov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent, and Igor Osinskiy, TASS Berlin correspondent: "Socialism in Bloom in GDR: Three Periods in One Year"]

[Text] One of us—the two authors—remained in the Berlin office; the other returned to Moscow. Hardly had he gotten off the plane when he entered a squall of perplexing questions—diverse but all essentially based on the same concept which had taken root: Among the socialist countries, the GDR really lived better than all

the rest. They did not know of deficits, or queues, or the other costs of a sick economy. The shelves were always stuffed with goods—maybe not of the kind one finds in the West, but of good quality and inexpensive. And now our fellow citizens, to whom the GDR has long been a paradise for "consumer tourism," truly cannot understand—how did the country suddenly manage to explode?

Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that Western television programming can readily be viewed over the entire territory of the republic and along with this comes, using earlier terminology, "alien ideological influences"? Perhaps the spark that set the forest on fire with "alien influences" and "unstable elements" would drag the people back, into capitalism? Just a month and a half, two months ago, the GDR press was inclined to explain what was going on in precisely that manner.

But such explanations do not stand up to real life. On Saturday 4 November, we both, albeit separately, were present at the grandiose demonstration in Alexanderplatz, in which at least a half million people took part. It would be silly to think they were all "unstable." More importantly, in that entire immense crowd, with such a variety of individuals, moods, and slogans, you would not find a single person advocating orally or in writing the restoration of capitalism or a return to the notorious "reunification of Germany under the aegis of the FRG." A lot of things might have happened, but not this.

But now let us turn to the impassive language of statistics. At the beginning of the social disturbances in the GDR, annual per capita consumption amounted to 99.4 kg of meat, 108.3 liters of milk, 303 eggs, 99 kg of flour and mixes, 257 kg of potatoes and vegetables, 68.3 kg of fruits. Three out of five families had their own car. And the ill-fated "housing question," a stumbling block for many socialist economists, had already been just about resolved—the wait for a comfortable apartment (according to standards incomparably higher than ours) was reduced to 2 or 3 years, and without a doubt the problem will be settled by the beginning of the 1990's.

So why are GDR residents discontent? What are they demanding at these rallies and demonstrations? What are they protesting? What caused them to flee beginning in August in tens of thousands across Hungary and Czechoslovakia to the FRG, to besiege West German embassies and delegations in the capitals of various countries and in Berlin itself? The answer is short and paradoxical—at the foundation of the events lies a shortage. But it is not a shortage of sausage or meat, soap or pantyhose, shoes or housing. It is a shortage of freedom and truth.

Let us try to trace, albeit summarily, how and when this shortage was engendered, how it developed, and where it led.

Period of Silence

It began about 20 years ago. Tendencies in this direction had appeared earlier, but developed especially strongly and blossomed in magnificent color after the 8th Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Congress (1971) approved a strategic program for constructing "a developed socialist society on German soil." The problem, of course, was not in the program as such, but in the fact that, as the years passed, it began to be treated like the Bible. Even at the end of August of this year, when the country was seething over, the SED central organ, the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, proclaimed: "Nothing suggests a need to correct our course, a need to retreat from our program aims or our view to achieving socialism...."

We cannot fail to acknowledge that in implementing the program charted by the 8th SED Congress, real successes were achieved, and not insignificant ones. The country's high standard of living did not spring up by itself—it was based on a prioritized development of science and technology, on the production activity of industrial combines and agricultural production cooperatives, on precise organization of trades and small enterprises. A model was established for a multiparty system; constructive cooperation was effected between church and state. In this and a great deal more, our German friends turned out to be more farsighted than we and fully deserve to take pride in their contribution to the theory and practice of socialism.

But is it enough in our stormy times to take pride in what has been achieved? Over the years, the concept developed by SED of "socialism in bloom in the GDR" grew quite stagnant, not the least reason for which was the fact that it entailed a noncompetitive, administrative-command system copied—alas—almost without alteration from models in our country. And although the innate German predilection for organization and order caused the system to function more precisely and creak less than ours, it could not surmount the difficulties presented and get progressive undertakings under way.

At the 10th Plenum of the SED Central Committee in November of this year, there was candid discussion of the fact that the state bureau of statistics had started to "smooth over" the figures, giving them a propagandistic gloss. Critical analysis of social activity was ever more frequently being replaced with polish and embellishments. The mass information media used artistic imagery and avoided even a fleeting reference to deficiencies. The critical letters of citizens to the leadership of the republic, to deputies of the People's Chamber, and to newspapers and magazines were simply ignored. It reached the point where the elections to local organs of people's representatives conducted 7 May of this year were rigged—the number of votes "against" turned out to be too great.

Another side to the coin: As time went by, the louder and more importunate resounded the songs of praise from

the platform and in the pages of the press directed toward leader Erich Honecker. It was noted at the 10th Plenum: "Collectivism was being seen less and less in the Politburo. This led ever more frequently to subjective decisions. The wise counsel of our best friends received no attention. Criticism of negative phenomena was relegated to a greater and greater degree to the Western mass media. And then there was the negative, temporizing, partly dogmatic, partly arrogant attitude toward the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism...."

Yes, unfortunately this was the case. Reports concerning perestroika which had begun in our country evoked the most intense interest in the GDR. But to the creators of the concept of "socialism in bloom in the GDR" these evidently seemed dangerous. The course of reforms being conducted and charted in the USSR was hushed up. Information from Moscow was more and more frequently reduced to reports of ethnic conflict, supply stoppages, accidents, and growth in crime. A year ago under a far-fetched pretext, circulation of the Soviet magazine SPUTNIK was banned and other of our publications somehow started appearing less and less in the kiosks. The best Soviet films of recent years—"Repentance," "The Cold Summer of '53," "War Came the Day After," and others—were banned.

We are seeing how in recent years friends and acquaintances in the GDR often ask to be sent recent newspaper issues from Moscow instead of souvenirs. Then the most interesting articles are translated spontaneously into German, copied, and distributed. It is a peculiar kind of "perestroika samizdat."

Period of Discontent

This too did not begin yesterday. Over long years the republic lived a kind of double life—one thing was spoken from the official platform, something entirely different in the lobbies, on the streets, and at home. At first the discontent was passive and elicited no alarm among the leadership. Then resounded the critical statements of youth—regarding inadequate educational conditions. When conflicts between workers and enterprise administrations grew more frequent, attempts were made to settle them more quickly, using words which promised to take all considerations into account. And even when the wave of emigration to the FRG began and it became impossible to deny nothing was done except to offer explanations with a bitter taste to the effect that this was the underhanded plotting of the "enemies of socialism," as it were.

By the way, "underhanded plotting" really has taken place. Bourgeois propagandists promised the world to anyone who would abandon his native land and literally blackmailed those who decided to stay. Leaflets with advice on how and where best to cross the Austrian border were circulated among GDR citizens on vacation in Hungary. As the 40th anniversary of the GDR approached, the West German television stations ARD

and ZDF unfurled a powerful antisocialist campaign, imparting to it an air of hysteria—without exaggeration—on the eve of the celebration. Slogans advocating "German unity," "a great national community," and "the united Fatherland with 1937 borders" were broadcast everywhere.

Nonetheless, no leaflets or displays of propaganda would have had any effect were it not for the social tension within the country which was increasing month by month. Demonstrators went out into the streets of cities and villages demanding improvements in supplies, fair wages, resolution of various local problems. But even then the basic demands were not so much economic as political—free elections with a choice of candidates, self-management of enterprises and cooperatives, freedom from excessive wardship on the part of the state. The "Procrustean bed" of constitutional freedoms in effect—or really how they were interpreted—made people unbearably uncomfortable. This was clear to any unbiased observer but not—alas—to the former GDR leadership.

Informal organizations—essentially opposition organizations—like "New Forum," "United Left," and others grew, nurtured by social discontent. They issued statements sharply critical of SED and the government and advanced programs for the renewal and democratization of socialism. Lacking both authority as well as a platform for propagating their ideas, opposition forces nonetheless gradually seized the initiative and organized major acts of protest. They could not fail to know about this "up above." As the 10th SED Central Committee Plenum noted, however, both Erich Honecker and Gunther Mittag simply brushed all alarms aside.

In Dresden and then in Berlin at the beginning of October, demonstrators clashed with police. People were arrested and a number were injured. But in spite of this, official speeches on the 6th and 7th of the month again reflected in monotone an inflexible confidence in the fact that GDR history after 1971 consisted of victories and achievements alone. A challenge was actually being issued to the people.

And they responded to the challenge with a new explosion.

Period of Changes

This time has an initial reference point. On 11 October the SED Central Committee Politburo made the proposal to communists and all workers in the country that a universal referendum be conducted regarding the future of socialism on German soil. Then in just one week, at the 9th Central Committee Plenum, changes were introduced into the leadership composition. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, went into retirement. Egon Krenz replaced him in both posts.

The day will probably come when this dramatic page in GDR history becomes known in all its detail. The

citizens of the republic are insisting on their legal right to know the full truth. In his statement in the press a few days ago, General Prosecutor Gunther Wendland reported that the procuracy had received many letters accusing party and state personnel of various ranks of serious abuse of authority, corruption, enjoying undeserved privileges, and illegally accumulating personal wealth. He proposed that an independent commission be created within the People's Chamber of the GDR which would conduct a comprehensive examination of all incidences. No one should be exempt, Wendland stressed. Everyone should answer for his actions to the full extent of the law, regardless of his previous service and position.

Following the 9th Plenum, events began unfolding with the speed of lightning. We will cite here just a few, the recent events of November.

2 November. Under public pressure, the chairman of the Association of Free German Trade Unions, Harry Tiesh, goes into retirement.

3 November. Addressing citizens of the country over radio and television, Egon Krenz announces the retirement of another five members of the Politburo. Mass demonstrations continue throughout the GDR. There are increased demands for the government to resign.

4 November. More than half a million people conduct a vast demonstration in Berlin as mentioned earlier. Banners appear and speeches are delivered calling for the support of constitutional freedoms; they are sharply critical of the previous GDR leadership. Many people are carrying pictures of M.S. Gorbachev.

7 November. The GDR Government resigns in its entirety.

8 November. The SED Central Committee Politburo also resigns in its entirety.

8-10 November. The 10th Central Committee Plenum elects a new leading organ of the party, filling its ranks, it seemed, with the most prestigious people. But communists in a number of districts do not agree to the proposed list of candidates and discharge the first secretaries of their district organizations from their posts as a sign of protest. As a result, the plenum excludes from the Politburo just-elected Hans-Joachim Bohme, Johannes Hemnitzer, Werner Walde, and Inger Lange.

10 November. The "SED Program of Operations" is approved by consensus. It lays down fundamental measures for restructuring all spheres of public life. The decision is made to immediately convene the GDR People's Chamber and the 4th Party Conference.

13 November. The extraordinary SED Central Committee Plenum proposes to convene not a party conference, but rather an extraordinary party congress—since it is re-election of the entire Central Committee which is under consideration, and only a congress is empowered to do this.

The GDR People's Chamber begins its session the same day. It elects a new president—Gunter Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany. Hans Modrow is elected to the post of chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, replacing Willi Stoph who retired.

17-18 November. The GDR People's Chamber confirms the composition of the new government.

We hope that even such a chronology, short and incomplete through necessity, conveys the tension and drama of the changes taking place in the GDR. Here we must place not a period, but a series of dots—events continue to unfold.

But there is one event which simply must be treated separately. Late during the evening of 9 November a new provision was announced on trips abroad and permanent emigration which was put in effect immediately. Late that night and into the morning, hundreds of thousands of people surged toward the open border-control points. During the first 5-10 hours, about 3.4 million citizens of the GDR were in West Berlin and the FRG, about equal to the annual visitation quota up to that time. This was considered a great diplomatic achievement in both German states.

Can we imagine how difficult it must have been for the republic's new leadership to cross this "psychological Rubicon"? The Berlin Wall had become a symbol of the "cold war" and had stood unshakeable for 28 years! (See article "The Berlin Wall," *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* No 34, 23 August 1989). Nonetheless, the endless flow of emigrants could not be stopped through the most severe measures, bordering on violation of the law. And now we see a practically open border....

As reported by the German Telegraph Agency (GDR), 4,298,375 citizens of the GDR obtained 72-hour visas for personal visits to the FRG and West Berlin; 10,144 of these declared their wish to emigrate. Over the same period of time, approximately 10,000 people who had emigrated earlier decided to return home to the GDR. For comparison purposes we point out that only about 700 individuals returned over the 10 months prior.

So what is it that the inhabitants of the German Democratic Republic want? The same thing you and I want—socialism. Genuine socialism with the ugly scales and deformations removed. They want a society in which each person can feel he is his own master. They want a state whose main concern is not some abstract, universal benefit to mankind, but rather benefit to specific people.

As respected author Christa Wolf said in addressing her fellow countrymen:

What can we promise you? A life that is not easy, but useful and interesting, not instant benefits, but participation in great transformations. We want to be guaranteed democratization, free elections, the right of legal protection, and the right of free movement. Obstructions

accumulated over decades cannot be removed in a few weeks. We stand just at the threshold of a radical change in the course of our country's history.

SED's Herger Cited on Congress Proposals

PM3011145389 Moscow *SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA*
in Russian 28 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED): Pursuing a Course of Changes"]

[Text] Berlin, 27 Nov—The fact that the SED leadership has already received around 1,500 proposals concerning the upcoming extraordinary SED congress points to the considerable increase in party members' activity of late. A special commission is at work in the Central Committee carefully studying and processing these letters. This was stated by W. Herger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, in an interview carried in today's *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*. The representative of the SED leadership noted the businesslike character of the proposals received and the variety of valuable ideas and alternative solutions to different problems.

The important thing here, Herger stressed, is that the authors do not question the existence of socialism but advocate renewal of the social system. Generalizing the material received, one can say that attention is mainly focused on two questions: The way to further develop socialism in the GDR and the role the party will play in that process.

GDR Party Criticism of Youth Union Stance

PM2911161789 Moscow *KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian 28 Nov 89 p 3

[Own correspondent S. Maslov dispatch under the general heading: "Spring on the Threshold of Winter"]

[Text] Berlin—The Free German Youth Union [FDJ] is going through a crisis. It has to a considerable degree lost the confidence of its members and of young people as a whole. Its future is in question. The newspaper *JUNGE WELT* uses these words to characterize the present situation inside and around the youth union—a situation which in many ways conditioned the acuteness of the debate at the 13th FDJ Central Council Plenum which ended Saturday. As already reported, Frank Tuerkowski has been elected first secretary of the Central Council. In addition, the composition of the Bureau has been almost entirely renewed. The Central Council Secretariat has been abolished. A working committee has been formed to prepare for the 13th FDJ Congress, which it has been decided to hold in the middle of next February. Organizationally, this will be a regular congress, not the extraordinary one whose convocation many union members have demanded. A new FDJ Program and Rules are to be adopted at the upcoming forum. The draft Rules, which already exist, state that the FDJ regards itself as a socialist, democratic, antifascist union independent of the party. *JUNGE WELT*

describes the formula that the FDJ is the assistant and combat reserve of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]—a formula excluded from the Rules—as “sectarian adherence to communist education and to the immutability of strict party discipline.”

The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, press organ of the SED Central Committee, polemicizes with this way of putting the question. A commentary published Monday points out that the FDJ is declaring its party independence and openness to everyone, regardless of world outlook, at a time when other youth unions that are close to one political party or another are being created in the country. In the newspaper's opinion, the plenum did not shed light on what the new FDJ's program should be. During the debate too much was said about forms and structures and too little about the substance of future activity. Under conditions of the emergence of alternative organizations the FDJ cannot afford “unity without clarity,” the commentary states.

West Europe

Gorbachev Visit to Italy, Departure Reported

Gorbachev, PCI Head Meeting

LD3011111689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Today is the second day of the state visit to Italy by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This is what our special correspondent Viktor Levin reports from Rome:

[Levin] At this very moment a meeting is being held between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] and other leaders of the PCI. On the Soviet side, Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Chernyayev, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Lunkov, our ambassador in Italy, are taking part in the meeting. [passage omitted] [Moscow TASS in English at 1046 GMT on 30 November adds the following: “During the second part of the meeting, the Italian Communist Party chief was joined by members of the Italian Communist Party leadership Giorgio Napolitano, Antonio Rubbi and Alessandro Natta.”]

Conclusion of Talks

LD3011213189 Moscow TASS in English 2114 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—The Soviet-Italian talks held by the delegations led by Mikhail Gorbachev and Giulio Andreotti ended in Rome today. Yesterday's one-on-one conversations between the two leaders, the negotiations of the foreign ministers and other statesmen of the USSR and Italy concentrated on the major problems of the present, above all of the European political process, East-West economic ties and relations between the two countries.

Believing that the visit showed a new quality of Soviet-Italian interaction, and taking into account special importance of the present stage of transition in international development, the sides agreed to have their dialogue on a more systematic basis, specifically to hold foreign ministers' meetings twice a year.

During the analysis of the course of the Vienna talks, the sides noted considerable progress, and also difficulties now experienced at the talks.

Fresh political impetus is needed to make it possible to achieve an agreement on conventional armaments and armed forces in 1990.

Therefore, it is desirable that a meeting of the foreign ministers of the participating countries be held in the first six months of next year.

There has been the confirmation of the consent of top leaders of the European countries, the United States and Canada to sign the agreement, when it is reached.

Gorbachev noted that the perpetuation of the present conditions of the NATO military doctrine inherited from the cold war, the doctrine that envisages the use of nuclear weapons and determines the entire military activity of the alliance is almost the main obstacle to specific solutions at the Vienna talks.

Relations between the German Democratic Republic and West Germany came up for the discussion, since they have a bearing on the interests of entire Europe. There has been a coincidence in the opinions that it is only in the framework of the European Helsinki progress, given the respect for the postwar territorial setup that these relations can develop positively.

Much attention was given to the problems of the Mediterranean—the need for the lowering of military confrontation in the area, removal of the ecological danger, solution of the long-drawn out acute conflict in the Middle East, and joint efforts against terrorism.

A large degree of mutual understanding, and consequently, broad opportunities for interaction of the two countries, were noted.

Economic aspects of the European process and Soviet-Italian relations were intensively discussed at every level in the course of two days.

It is not only in the conceptual aspect, but by their practical results, that the negotiations on these questions have meant a fundamentally important step forward. Gorbachev and Andreotti expressed profound satisfaction with the scale and atmosphere of the negotiations, in which a greatly important role has been played by a factor of direct, sincere and interested discussion and solution of questions, the striving for profound understanding of each other's problems and concern, and mutual involvement in the common affairs of Europe and the whole world.

This approach to the potential of Soviet-Italian interaction was reflected by the signing of more than 20 agreements and other joint documents. Most important among these documents is the declaration signed by the two leaders.

Military Conversion Accord Signed

LD3011183289 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, in Rome in connection with President Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Italy, and his Italian counterpart Gianni de Michelis today signed a joint inter-governmental statement on cooperation in converting military production to civilian use.

The governments of the USSR and Italy, wishing to facilitate the utilisation of their experience in the field of conversion, have decided to promote the exchange of experience between state services, production amalgamations and firms in the two countries, the statement says.

Cooperation will also concern the search for alternative products, possibilities of their subsequent sale, social issues and the retraining of personnel.

The sides envisaged the establishment of a working group comprising conversion experts to deepen the study of various aspects of interaction.

Text of Soviet-Italian Declaration

LD3011175789 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, who is in Italy on an official visit, and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti signed here today a joint Soviet-Italian declaration. Follows the full text of the declaration:

The Joint Soviet-Italian Declaration

At the present crucial stage of international development, when new horizons are opening up and opportunity presents itself for deep transformations of relations among nations on the basis of democracy, universal human values and solidarity, the Soviet Union and Italy,

- seeking to promote in every possible way the advancement of these positive processes,
 - Aware of the fact that, despite all the complexity of issues and challenges of the modern world, humanity is offered a historic chance,
 - Fully aware of their responsibility,
- have jointly arrived at the following conclusions:

1. The world must be freed from the scourge of war and the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It is necessary to try and settle disputes by peaceful means and make every effort to pass from confrontation to dialogue, from enmity to cooperation, from suspicion to openness. The

development of political relations should be accompanied by expeditious advances at the talks on nuclear, conventional and chemical disarmament while strengthening universal security.

Specifically, the sides confirm that they will encourage the attainment, at the Vienna talks in 1990, of an agreement on conventional arms. Along with confidence-building measures, it will become a substantial step towards the gradual transformation of military structures on the basis of defence principles and full transparency in this field, including military budgets.

The sides favour the completion in 1990 of the Geneva talks on a complete ban on chemical weapons. They favour the expeditious attainment of an agreement on a fifty per cent cut by the Soviet Union and the United States of America in strategic offensive weapons, which would contribute to the positive outcome of the 1990 conference on the effectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

They favour the full observance of the 1972 ABM Treaty and the stage-by-stage reduction and cessation of nuclear tests with effective verification.

With the same aims in mind, the sides intend to develop, on a long-term basis, contacts between Soviet and Italian Armed Forces, exchange experience in converting the military industries and discuss the question of setting up a centre for reducing the danger of war danger and the threat of surprise attack.

2. Urgent measures are necessary to eliminate the threat to the environment. The earth is our common habitat and no state can ignore requirements to maintain the ecological balance. Care for nature, the prevention of ecological disasters, and the ensuring of economic development acceptable and compatible with the demands of universal ecological security are common concerns.

Specifically, the sides intend to contribute to the attainment of agreements, at the global and regional levels, on binding ecological standards and stronger international control in this field. They have agreed to develop cooperation in the field of environmental protection and are beginning an exchange of expertise and technologies, including with the aim of gradual creation of a broader European zone.

3. The sides favour the creation of conditions for the mutual complementarity of the national economies along East-West and North-South lines. Understandings are necessary between economic groupings, as well as the gradual involvement of interested states in international economic and financial organizations, including the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs.

They believe that scientific and technical cooperation is a powerful factor in strengthening integration processes

in the modern world and hope that the creation of the new climate of trust will result in overcoming obstacles to exchanges in this field.

The sides intend to adjust new forms of cooperation in the fields of road and port building, car making, power generation and power engineering as a whole, chemistry and petrochemistry, agro-industrial and agro-foodstuff complexes, telecommunications and high definition television, health services and training in trades and professions. They have displayed interest in the possibility of establishing in Moscow a centre of Soviet-Italian economic cooperation.

4. The provisions laid down in the universal declaration and international pacts on human rights must be observed by all the signatory states.

The sides proceed from the assumption that the bringing of national legislation into line with international regulations and agreements, including the final document of the Vienna meeting, facilitates work to overcome alienation between the citizens and the governments and creates preconditions for a new type of security in Europe. They regard as positive the results of the first conference on the human dimension in Paris in June 1989. They intend to promote the success of the next conference—in Copenhagen. They will spare no effort to ensure the successful holding of the final phase of the humanitarian conference in Moscow in 1991.

5. It is necessary to eliminate, step-by-step, the barriers of mutual mistrust generated by decades of confrontation and strict ideological opposition.

The future international structure must be increasingly based on the universal values of freedom, national, ethnic, religious tolerance and pluralism.

An in-depth courageous revision of domestic and foreign policies is under way in a number of countries, democratic changes are gaining strength. In every society principles of democracy must be present, as well as respect for the sovereign right of each nation to choose its own way of development. The success of this process meets universal interests. Under the impact of these factors, the curtain of mistrust between East and West is disintegrating.

6. The sides assume that Europe can make a substantial and original contribution to the establishment of peace on the eve of the third millennium. Various global issues are rooted here, but here, too, is concentrated the immense moral and material potential for their resolution. A movement in the right direction has begun in Europe—towards the overcoming of the unnatural rift. Europe is now on the threshold of a new era.

It is quite plausible today to count on the emergence of a peaceful Europe, a common home of all the CSCE member-countries. The basic principles of building the

common home were laid down in the final act of the Helsinki conference and the documents of all subsequent all-Europe meetings.

The efforts by the Soviet Union and Italy will focus in particular on the formation, on the European scale, of a greater legal, ecological, cultural and scientific homogeneity.

The sides are convinced that the balance upon which European continental security is based must be preserved. Any destabilising factor is at variance with the striving of every country for peace, and one's own security cannot be achieved to the detriment of another's security. They are equally convinced that each nation is entitled to decide its fate independently, including the choice of a social and political system, its evolution and necessary modifications.

The sides view with optimism the perspectives opening up due to the agreement between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community, as well as the development of relations between the European Community and the countries of central and Eastern Europe.

7. An international climate is being established facilitating the political settlement of regional conflicts. The Soviet Union and Italy are prepared to contribute to the matter and will make efforts to facilitate the creation of conditions for strengthening confidence and security. Aware of the close interrelation between the situation in Europe and the Mediterranean region, they intend to cooperate so as not to confine the new positive development within the continent but let it spread over the Mediterranean. They also favour the development of cooperation between littoral states.

8. Leaning on their best cultural traditions, the common heritage of humanism and the proximity of the Soviet and Italian peoples, the sides are convinced that there are conditions for deepening their relations in all fields. They have agreed in particular to invigorate—on the basis of the 1972 protocol on consultations, that fully proved its worth as a foundation for bilateral dialogue—political contacts at all levels. They intend to promote the strengthening of links between their parliaments and the public, among people in general and young people in particular. Humanitarian questions will be resolved constructively and humanely.

The Soviet Union and Italy call for reason and mutual understanding to prevail in international relations. The striving of man for justice, well-being and equal dignity for all is insuppressible. The Soviet Union and Italy will strengthen their cooperation in the name of a better future for all mankind as a single civilisation.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev
Giu. Andreotti

List of Signed Documents

PM0112125589 Moscow *PRAVDA* in Russian
1 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Signing of Soviet-Italian Documents"]

[Text] At the end of the talks M.S. Gorbachev and G. Andreotti signed a joint Soviet-Italian declaration in a ceremonial atmosphere.

Then a number of Soviet-Italian agreements were signed.

Foreign ministers E.A. Shevardnadze and G. de Michelis signed the following:

a joint statement by the USSR Government and Italian Government on cooperation in the sphere of conversion of the military industry;
an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of civil defense on questions of the forecasting and notification of emergency situations and mutual assistance in the event of natural disasters or accidents;
an agreement on the prevention of incidents at sea outside territorial waters;
a memorandum on cooperation in combating the abuse of and illegal trafficking in narcotics and psychotropic substances;
an agreement on visa questions;
an agreement on the creation and work of a USSR Cultural Information Center in Rome and an Italian Cultural Institute in Moscow;
an agreement on youth exchanges;
an agreement on cooperation in protecting cultural assets;
an agreement on incentives for and mutual protection of capital investments;
an agreement to mutually safeguard and exercise rights of industrial ownership;
an agreement on the mutual transfer to the USSR of property rights to buildings in Leningrad and Tbilisi and to the Italian republic in Moscow and on locating Italian and USSR Embassy buildings in Moscow and Rome respectively.

E.A. Shevardnadze and G. de Michelis exchanged letters on cooperation in the sphere of archives and also notes regarding certification of civil aircraft imported from one another and acknowledgment of certificates of airworthiness.

S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and G. Andreotti signed the following:

a statement of intent on the part of the two countries' governments to offer assistance to the international nongovernmental organization: "The International Scientific Cultural Center—World Laboratory".

S.A. Sitaryan and Italian Ministers R. Ruggiero, G. Ruffolo, A. Ruberti, and C. Mannino signed the following:

an agreement on the further development of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation;
a long-term program for the development of economic, industrial, and technical cooperation through the year 2000;
a statement of intent regarding the development of cooperation in the sphere of environmental conservation;
a program for deepening cooperation in the sphere of science and technology through the year 2000;
and a memorandum of understanding regarding cooperation in forestry.

Academician K.V. Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and N. Guerriero, president of the Italian Space Agency, signed a protocol on the first program for cooperation in accordance with a USSR and Italian Government agreement on cooperation in the study and use of space for peaceful purposes dated 14 October 1988.

A number of major economic agreements and contracts were signed during the visit with leading Italian industrial companies:

a memorandum of intent regarding the creation of a joint enterprise manufacturing light automobiles in Yelabuga between the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building and the Fiat concern;
a memorandum of cooperation with Fiat's participation under commercial conditions in constructing capacities at the No.1 and No.2 lines at the Yelabuga Automobile Plant;
a general agreement on cooperation in the sphere of the production and sale of polypropylene and polypropylene-based products between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry and the Montedison firm;
an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic State Agro-Industrial Committee, and the Ferruzzi-Montedison firm;
a contract to build a plant producing iceboxes between the "Soyuzvneshtsroyimport" All-Union Foreign Trade Association and Merloni;
a protocol regarding the intention to set up a joint enterprise in the petroleum refining sphere between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry and the National Hydrocarbon Institute (ENI);
a protocol regarding the intention to set up a joint enterprise producing tires for automobiles between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry and the Pirelli firm;
an agreement between the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building's "Kompozit" Science-and- Production Association and "Avangard" Production Association and Tubi Sarplast to set up a joint enterprise producing pipes and vessels for the food, chemical, and construction industry from modern composite materials;
a protocol concerning the intention to produce laundry detergents between the USSR Ministry of the Chemical

and Petroleum Refining Industry and the National Gas Pipeline Company-Progetti firm;
a protocol concerning intentions to set up a joint enterprise between the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Plant and Merloni to produce compressors;
a protocol concerning intentions to set up a joint enterprise between the Moscow city soviet executive committee [Gorispolkom] and the firm Impresit to construct a hotel in Yasnevo;
a protocol concerning intentions to set up an enterprise between the Moscow Gorispolkom and the firms Konvoloch and Dzheho [names as transliterated] to construct a "House of Technology";
and a contract to procure metal output in Italy between the "Promsryeimport" All-Union Foreign Trade Association and the firm Ilva.

Meeting With Italian Parliamentarians

LD3011181789 Moscow TASS in English 1809
GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, in Italy on an official visit, today met in his residence with Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Senate of the Italian parliament, and Leonilde Jotti, president of the House of Deputies.

He held discussions with the leaders of the political parties of the government coalition.

Gorbachev, Occhetto Meeting

PM0112143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "M.S. Gorbachev Meets With A. Occhetto"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met in Rome today [as published; no dateline provided—FBIS] with Italian Communist Party (PCI) Secretary General Achille Occhetto. The conversation was joined later by A.N. Yakovlev, A. Natta, G. Napolitano, A. Rubbi, A.S. Chernyayev, and N.M. Lunkov.

The interlocutors highly rated the significance of the state talks that have begun and the atmosphere of amicability [dobrozhelatelstvo] and mutual understanding in which they are taking place and noted the public's broad emotional support for the visit.

The most topical problems, connected with the events currently taking place in Europe, were touched on. There was a discussion of the role and responsibility of statesmen, political parties, and left-wing forces in creating conditions for internal changes to take place naturally and independently—through the dynamization of the Helsinki process, while strictly abiding by its principles.

There was an exchange of opinions on ways of settling regional conflicts in conditions of overcoming the cold war legacy and on the potential role of the Soviet-Italian factor in this.

The mutual desire was expressed to continue active contacts between the two parties in a comradely and constructive spirit.

Gorbachev Speech at Rome City Hall

PM0112112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
Second Edition 1 Dec 89 pp 1-2

[TASS-attributed account of speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at Rome's City Hall on 30 November: "For Changing and Stable World"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Mr Prime Minister, esteemed Mr Mayor, ladies and gentlemen: This is not my first trip to Italy, and every visit excites me and prompts me to ponder a very great many things. For centuries, Italy was the arena for the confrontation of good, nobility, charity, and human genius on the one hand, and the forces of evil, egoism, perfidy, and ruthlessness, on the other. In the consciousness of Russian and Soviet people, it personifies the very history of Europe, at any rate the origins and classic elements of its spiritual richness. Europe and mankind are and will be eternally grateful to Italy and the Italians for their contribution to world culture and civilization.

Russia and Italy have for centuries been drawn to each other. Aristotle Fioravanti, Mark [as published] Ruffo, Pietro Solari, Antonio Giccardi, Alonzo di Carcano, Giacomo Qaranghi, Bartolomeo Rastrelli, Rossi father and son, Domenicho Gilardi, and Pietro Gonzaga—these and others who are perhaps not as famous gave their talents to Russia. The fruits of their labors and inspiration to this day adorn Moscow and Leningrad. The Italian opera was an organic part of Russian culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Not many people know that in the past 2 centuries, 2,500 editions of Dante have been published in our country in 70 different translations.

Incidentally, it was noted by a well-known Soviet poet that "Pushkin, no less, took from the Italians an explosiveness and unexpectedness of harmony." And you well know what Pushkin means to us; Pushkin who is moreover also regarded as a concentrated embodiment of the best qualities of the Russian character.

Many great Russian writers—the glory of our literature—lived and worked in Italy. They include Gogol, Herzen, Dostoevsky, Gorkiy. I haven't even mentioned the artists. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's stay in Italy and his constant inquisitive interest in events in your country and the Italian workers' movement are memorable to us.

So thousands of threads connect our peoples spiritually and emotionally, and we rightfully speak about a fine,

old tradition in relations between our peoples. Unwillingly, one starts thinking what the source of the bewitching force of the Italian principle is. Evidently, it is its all-embracing quality and flair for penetration into all sides of existence with one's art, philosophy, legal consciousness, and political theories; an inborn pluralism and striving to understand any point of view; an unwillingness to accept doctrinaire attitudes, and a suspicion of any ultimate truths; but most of all, perhaps, its humanism, in which man is the measure of all things—the beginning and the end of all that exists. Indeed, beginning with the renaissance the concept of culture comes from humanist values, and we take them on board in our own "renaissance," our *perestroyka*, as well.

After those historical and philosophical thoughts let me turn to today's matters. The world is indeed at a turning point in its destiny. The material culture is developing at a breath-taking speed. However, when so many are still deprived, destitute, hungry and unhappy, one ought not to speak about oversaturating the planet with material goods. At the same time, the reverse side of the scientific and technical progress which threatens mankind with self-destruction is revealing itself in an ever more sinister way. The way out lies in an ennobling of life, and in reinterpreting the attitude of man to nature, other people, and to his own self. A revolution of conscience is needed; only on that basis will a new culture and a new policy which are adequate to the challenge of the time take shape. The pivotal element in this trial and in the tackling of this worldwide historic task will be provided by eternal moral precepts—the simple laws of morality and humanity, as Marx used to call them.

We ponder over it a lot in the Soviet Union. We see all the complexity of the task, but at the same time we also understand the most profound necessity to find a solution in the sphere of consciousness as well as in the political sphere. Lately in the West, a lot is written and said that the world community will be able to realize its integrity only if "the other side"—meaning the Soviet Union first of all—will renounce its ideological and social values.

I will be frank. We are often simply advised to give up socialism, and then everything in the world, so the advice goes, will be easy and simple. I deliberately simplify in order to emphasize the question, but the essence of it is just that. This is not the approach the world needs at its great turning point to a new epoch. This is a temptation again to build a policy based on illusions, and not on realities.

The modern world reveals a great diversity of social and political theories, with the help of which different societies, countries, and nations want to build their life. What is characteristic is that the growth of the role of principles common to all mankind happens not through effacing, but through augmenting manifestations of originality, and through a growth of the role of national and other peculiarities. Obviously, the most generalized and the most responsible task of politicians is to try to

guarantee progress and mutual security on the basis of respect for the diversity of the world, a balance of interests and freedom of choice. The Soviet people are committed to their own socialist choice, and the stormy discussions that are taking place in our country—for all the pluralism of opinions—do not cancel out this fundamental fact. Everyone who wants to understand us correctly and build normal relations should proceed from this fact.

You will say that there doesn't seem to be anything new in this: that we've been hearing this for decades. No, there is something new, and it is of prime importance. It is that we have renounced the monopoly of truth and do not think that we are better than the rest and always right about everything and that anyone who disagrees with us is our enemy. Henceforth, we are firmly and irreversibly guided in politics by the principle of freedom of choice; in economic life, science, and technology by the principle of mutual benefit; and in the intellectual and ideological sphere by the principle of dialogue and acceptance of all that is applicable to our conditions and ought in consequence be assimilated and utilized, for our own progress.

These principles and approaches distinguish our new thinking, which is the result of an honest, realistic, and relentlessly objective view of the modern world, with its tragic problems, threats, and phenomenal possibilities.

I will permit myself to say here, in front of you, the Italians, that the new thinking is also the heir of the best traditions of the humanism that was born on your soil. It is our contribution to asserting in the world the priority of universal human values. This idea takes root in the minds of men with no less—and perhaps with greater—difficulty than the ideas of class or national interest.

Nonetheless, it has, before our eyes, already made an enormous breakthrough in the world's social consciousness. It has also made an imperious incursion into politics. Among us in the Soviet Union, all this is being hotly—and at times keenly—debated. The majority acknowledges that we cannot ever realize the ideals of *perestroyka* and achieve the aims we have set ourselves unless we take universal human values as a basis and join in the stream of worldwide transformation. But how can this be done, and how—first and foremost—can this imperative be assimilated psychologically? That is the problem of problems.

In the atmosphere of emotional and intellectual freedom which *perestroyka* has produced and which has demanded new relations in society, we have seen how hard it is to let go of accustomed stereotypes and how difficult to be truly democratic, respectful to each other, tolerant, and finally, charitable.

But with every day that passes we understand more clearly how important all this is. For unless we overcome in ourselves all that is associated with the deformations of socialism in the past, we shall not achieve success in realizing the plans of *perestroyka*. And it is thanks to the

deeply humanistic orientation of the policy of perestroika that we have succeeded in changing, in a very short time, the whole face of public life, and mobilizing a vast country for a radical and essentially revolutionary transformation.

There are those in whom perestroika inspires a feeling of bewilderment. In others it inspires fear. Some do not accept it fully, preferring what we had before. Those people also exist. But the huge majority of Soviet people have begun to feel themselves to be full citizens, and are ever more confidently taking the country's affairs and their own destinies into their own hands. The great process of humanizing life is capable of resolving everything, even the most incredible tasks that now confront us.

One of the biggest of those tasks is the restructuring of the Soviet federation, with its many nationalities. It is a remarkable feature of our country that we have 15 national union republics; over a hundred nationalities: peoples with many centuries of history, with their own traditions and character, with their own unique particularity. The fact that the revolution, and the socialist choice, have united them into one unique family, that they have together built a great state and, thanks to this, withstood the severest tests, will go down in the history of world progress.

But here, too, the Stalinist period and the period of stagnation have left a severe legacy. The problems have been mounting, and now everything has splashed out into the open. Events often take an unexpected turn, since there have been many omissions and specific interests have not always been taken into account. Now all the peoples have made their voice heard. No one wants either to be assimilated, or to disappear. We want to breathe new life into the Soviet federation. Let me say frankly that this is intricate work: When it comes to national relations, everything is very fragile and delicate.

But perestroika will enable us to solve this problem which is crucial for our state, too. There has been a change in our attitude to problems toward which, previously, I must confess, our approach was oversimplified—religion for example. By the way, the initial rejection of it is characteristic not only of our revolution, but to some extent of all major social upheavals in other countries, too. In our country the church is separated from the state. But now we proceed not only from the position that belief is a matter for each person's conscience and that no one should interfere with this, but also from the position that the moral values which religion has worked out and incorporated over the centuries can serve and are already serving the cause of renewal in our country, too.

In short, the leitmotiv of the philosophy of perestroika is self-awareness, opening oneself up to the world and discovering the world. It includes two interlinked aspects—the search for answers to problems engendered by our internal development, and for answers to the

challenge of the time which is facing the whole of mankind, while understanding the integral responsibility of our country for its fate, too.

We value the fact that we are meeting with understanding of our contemporary ideas and approaches on the part of the Italian leadership and the broad circles of the Italian public. We are grateful for the Italians' attitude to our perestroika, for their empathy, support, and active participation.

Gentlemen, we are meeting you as 1989 draws to a close. I think that I can say without exaggeration that this year has been unusual and very significant. It seems that it will go down in history as such, too.

I find myself talking to a large number of foreign personalities who subscribe to the most diverse and not infrequently opposed ideological and political positions. But I have almost always come to be convinced that all of them have a kind of presentiment of a sharp change of direction in world development, an intuitive or well-considered awareness that the world is at the threshold of a completely different era.

The historic scale of the events that this year has embraced requires a corresponding scale of assessments undistorted by short-term considerations. The socialist world holds the center of attention at the moment. Having embarked on a course of radical reforms, the socialist countries are, one after the other, passing a point from which there is no return to the past. But the conclusion obdurately being foisted in the West, that allegedly this is the collapse of socialism and the end of the socialist system, is in vain. No, it is a sign that the socialist process in the world, which has acquired much, albeit dramatic, experience, is moving on to a multiplicity of forms for its further development. It will in this way acquire fresh opportunities for advancing toward its just and noble goals, and for the realization of the enormous humanistic and democratic potential enshrined in the socialist idea. One should not forget that socialism as a social system has existed for just several decades. What we observe today is a departure from forms picked at another time, from the command-administrative model that has contradicted the ideas of this system from the start. I shall permit myself to recall in passing that the history of the emergence of world capitalism took several centuries, and what is more it saw both bloody revolutions, terrible wars, and the most acute crises, depressions, and upheavals, as well as fascism. Let us leave "glee" over the "triumph of capitalism" in the "cold war" to the anticommunist propagandists. This is merely a vestigial element of the old thinking.

What is important for serious politicians is an understanding of the essence of what is happening. Without such an understanding, there will be no movement forward toward a genuinely peaceful period. It is not unexpected that it is specifically in Europe that the postwar period is coming to an end. It is also natural that

it is precisely here that the sociopolitical and foreign policy consequences of the end of the "cold war" are making themselves most clearly felt.

Events are picking up speed. They are proceeding and can proceed in different ways, be implemented in different forms, and reach a different depth; but on the international plane it is important for stability to be maintained and for everybody to act in a well-considered manner. Whether the present generation of politicians will be up to the responsibility being dictated to them by the historic turn-around that has begun toward different international relations and a different world will depend on that. Harm to the truly epoch-making turnaround which has taken shape must not be permitted by clumsy conduct or provocative statements. Any attempts to use what is happening for egoistic ends, to exploit the situation to grab a little bit more for oneself, and to push events in a direction that is necessary only for oneself, are fraught with chaos.

From the worldwide point of view, I repeat, it is a matter of overcoming the negative aspects of the postwar world structure, and of overcoming them in a way that does not undermine security and the equilibrium that has been achieved, but rather strengthens them and gives them a new quality, and helps to usher in a fundamentally new period of peace.

We value the understanding by our interlocutors here in Italy of the present situation, its positive meaning, and the dangers connected with it. I am glad that we have found agreement with the Italian leadership that any destabilization in one part of the continent threatens the whole of it and that the prevention of any actions which might be assessed as interference must be a common concern.

We all have a good foundation for a well-considered, constructive course: the Helsinki Final Act, the Vienna concluding document, and others in the pan-European process; and bilateral acts of international importance, such as the joint Soviet-West German statement, the Soviet-French declaration on principles, the Soviet-Finnish declaration, the Soviet-Canadian political declaration—and now, the Soviet-Italian declaration.

They contain a wealth of ideas and obligations making it possible to ensure a healthy and normal trend in the European process. There is encouraging progress at the Vienna talks in one of the cardinal areas of this process, and we hope that next year all the European states, the United States, and Canada will sign a historic act which, in the sphere of military policy, will begin to "turn back" the clock.

But the Soviet leadership is now already firmly implementing its decision to make the country's armed forces exclusively defensive in accordance with the new military doctrine. This is finding expression in the practical restructuring of the Soviet Army. Let me mention by the way that we have already fulfilled our promise to withdraw 500 tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of

our allies and not to produce or deploy tactical missile complexes with a range of over 120 km as long as NATO does likewise.

All of this is our practical contribution, our contribution to the disarmament process in Europe, to the successful conclusion of the Vienna talks. The positive development of Europe is undoubtedly facilitated by the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations for which this year has been noted. We hope to continue to cooperate with the U.S. Administration on questions touching upon the security and prospects for European construction.

I am sure that my forthcoming meeting with President George Bush will make it possible for us to make a new and constructive step on the path from "mutual understanding to mutual action" in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Changes are under way everywhere, not just in Eastern Europe. They are under way in the West, too. And to a certain extent they are all interlinked and influence each other. Together they make even more topical the idea of the common European home. On our part we are trying, in our links with the western part of Europe and Italy, and with the Eastern European states, to fill this idea with specific content. The situation really does demand that we focus more fundamentally on all-European construction.

I think that in light of the events of the departing year the desirability of an **all-European summit meeting** is becoming more evident—that is, Helsinki II. One could well think of bringing it forward and holding it not in 1992, but say as early as 1990.

A very important result of the European year that is now ending is that the danger of war has been considerably reduced. A rapid process has been embarked upon to form new bilateral relations between states.

In these circumstances certain other questions which only recently were still regarded as merely theoretical take on practical importance. Cicero said that when there is saber rattling, the laws are silent. We now seem to be approaching a condition in which arms are silent. That means that the laws must speak loud and clear. We are convinced that our common desire must be a world of law, and of peace through law. It is the awareness of this that has led to the emergence of the idea of a European realm of law: a unified realm, but by no means a uniform one. For the law of each country will inevitably bear the imprint of national and social specifics.

But in what area must full uniformity exist? It must exist in the understanding and application by all states of the norms of international law, and here there is much work to be done. After all, the main body of present international law was built in the prenuclear age, at a time when the global problems that have now reached a critical state were only just being engendered. The actual character of the realization of international law is also changing. For centuries it was thought—and it is still thought—that observance of its norms is ensured by compulsion. Now

this is unacceptable and dangerous. Observance of the norms of international law must be based upon a balance of interests, and motivated by interest. That will be the main guarantee of the effectiveness of international law when all forms of external force are excluded.

Since Vienna, solid work has been done in the USSR to bring our internal legislation into full accord with the Final Document, and of course with the well-known documents of the United Nations Organization. The Supreme Soviet has passed a number of laws, and several draft laws are under discussion: on entry to the country and exit from it; on public organizations; on the press, religion, and so on. The question of joining the conventions existing within the framework of the Council of Europe is being discussed.

Perhaps it is worthwhile giving thought to holding a meeting of experts from the 35 countries to discuss the juridical aspects of the European process as part of the preparations for a European conference—Helsinki II.

In the final analysis, Europe appears as a community of sovereign, democratic states with a high level of interdependence based on equal rights; states which are open for the exchange of goods, technologies, and ideas, and for very broad contacts between people. Processes on such a scale are always the result of various tendencies and influences of historic joint creativity to which each contributes hopefully their best and, of course, what is acceptable for the others.

In holding out this prospect we wish to remain realists. We call for people to be particularly serious so that they do not delude themselves, but accept others as they are and do not strive to change each other.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion I would like to say the following. In the mid-1980's mankind reached a crossroads in its history and, it seems to us, it has already made the choice to move away from whipping up confrontation and the threat of war, toward mutual understanding and the search for agreement, and toward cooperation, although the danger still remains of a return to former positions. The temptation to resolve one's problems at the expense of others, to oppress the weak, to not take morality into account in one's policies, to take advantage of difficulties which arise somewhere or other, to use weapons where a solution could be found by political means—all of this, alas, still exists in the world.

But we believe that we are moving not toward the end of history, as one can hear people say at times, but we are beginning a new epoch in history in which the scope is opening up for the joint creation of new forms of human existence.

We are in favor of a changing, but stable world. This is the objective dialectic of development. And the supreme responsibility of contemporary politics with regard to mankind is to help this law of history to serve progress and the good of people.

Our conversations and talks here in Rome make it possible to draw the conclusion that Italy and the USSR, acting together or in parallel, can promote this very strongly in the interests of their own countries, in the interests of Europe and the world community.

And finally, we are charmed by the benevolent and sincere atmosphere that surrounds us here and are filled with a feeling of gratitude to the Italians for their solidarity and support for the great undertaking we have begun in our country. We are perfectly satisfied with the accords and agreements reached and signed here, and in particular with the degree of mutual understanding, trust, and frankly speaking, friendliness, that have filled our conversations, our contacts with the president, Mr Cossiga, with the prime minister, Mr Andreotti, and with other statesmen and politicians.

Our delegation rates highly the prospects opening up as a result of the visit. For our part we shall do everything to ensure that Soviet-Italian interaction rises, as a result, to a new level in the sphere of politics, in the economic sphere, in the cultural sphere, and in human and humanitarian relations. On Rome's ancient soil I can confidently state that it is possible to pave the way to a better future, and that on moving along it the peoples will feel happier, better, and calmer, and that we shall be able to overcome the threats and challenges of our times with incomparably smaller costs and losses than our predecessors managed. Our kindest and most friendly wishes to the Italian people! Thank you.

30 Nov Activities Detailed

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[TASS report: "For A Changing and Stable World"]

[Excerpts] Rome, 30 Nov—Official talks with Italian leaders, sincere and lively conversations with ordinary Italians, a visit to Rome City Hall, and a speech to members of the public—those were the main events of the second day of M.S. Gorbachev's state visit to Italy. And although the visit is not yet over, there is already every justification for saying that it has been a success.

First, the forecasts that the visit would be an important landmark in the development of political relations between the USSR and Italy have been borne out, and their important role in world and general European affairs has been confirmed.

Second, the USSR-Italy dialogue has considerably expanded and deepened the process of cooperation in all spheres of life and revealed not only Italy's profound interest in Soviet society's renewal, but also its desire to actively promote it.

And finally, it is generally agreed that the warmth of the meetings on Italian soil, which have reflected the traditional ties between the two peoples, has surpassed all expectations. Today's issue of the newspaper LA

STAMPA, which is normally restrained in its assessments, was highly expressive and significant. Its front page carried the headline "Gorbachev Conquers Rome."

After today's talks M.S. Gorbachev and G. Andreotti signed a joint Soviet-Italian declaration. A large package of more than 20 documents and bilateral agreements was then signed in their presence.

The profound essence of the top-level dialogue taking place in Rome is shown by the newspaper commentaries. Assessing the progress of the visit and viewing its importance in the all-European process of bringing about detente in international relations, the newspaper *IL MESSAGGERO* writes that the "warm welcome accorded Mikhail Gorbachev on Italian soil reflects the European states' close attention to the progress of transformations in the Soviet Union." The goals set by the Soviet leader and everyone who supports him inside and outside the Soviet Union, the newspaper notes, lie not only in democratizing and improving the Soviet political and economic system, but also in achieving a stable balance in the sphere of international relations.

...That afternoon M.S. Gorbachev met with leaders of the Italian Senate and Chamber of Deputies at his residence. A meeting was also held with the leaders of the political parties in the government coalition.

One other meeting held at the Soviet leader's residence was a reminder of the solidarity shown by Italians in the tragic days of last December. A group of Italian rescue workers who helped to rescue people injured in the earthquake in Leninakan and Spitak were awarded Soviet "For Personal Bravery" orders. Presenting the awards, S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, noted that through this modest act Armenians and the entire Soviet people are expressing their gratitude to the sons of Italy who responded to the disaster and gave as much help as they could to Armenia.

A meeting with a holder of a Soviet order—Vittorio Giamboni, a staffer at the Italian Foreign Ministry—even made it possible to clarify certain details of the work which concluded today on Soviet-Italian documents. It transpired that the recently-signed agreement on joint forecasting and early warning of emergencies was his brainchild. After several weeks' work in Armenia I returned to Rome, Vittorio said, thinking that such a document was highly necessary. Of course, you live in hope that nothing will happen to your motherland. But the bitter experience of Armenia reminds us that in the struggle against the elements those who are alone are powerless. We need clear-cut and coordinated actions by many people and different countries.

As soon as the visit's program was announced, journalists highlighted one very important aspect of it—the Soviet leader's visit to Rome City Hall on the Capitoline Hill. It is there, in the Julius Caesar Hall, that Italy's venerable tribune is located. At the entrance to City Hall the Soviet leader was met by Rome's Prefect A. Barbato,

the general secretary of Rome City Council, and representatives of the city authorities.

The Soviet leader met with representatives of Rome's public in the City Council's Hall of Flags. After an exchange of greetings the guest was presented with a gift—a copy of the "Capitoline She-wolf," the symbol of Rome. M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva signed Rome's Visitors' Book. F. Cossiga and G. Andreotti arrived at City Hall soon after. They accompanied the guest into the Julius Caesar Hall, where hundreds of representatives of the country's scientific and cultural life had gathered.

Those present were addressed by G. Andreotti.

The visit to the Capitolino (this is how Italians refer to the Capitoline Hill, where the capital's City Hall is located) is a point of particular importance in the program of President Gorbachev's official visit to Italy, he said. This is where for centuries famous guests have stopped to ponder the history of ancient Rome, which entrusted its destiny not so much to military conquest as to the formation of a world legal consciousness which still forms the basis of the legal systems in a large part of the world. But, along with these classical models, this evening we recall 25 March 1957, when six European states linked their destinies by signing the Treaty of Rome in order to give life to the reality of the EC. Initially it might have seemed that it was a question of some kind of bastion indifferent or even hostile to countries outside it. But this was by no means its spirit. Not only have another six states joined the community; not only has a wide network of agreements been developed with 66 countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific; not only have intensive relations been established with countries embracing free trade; but relations were initially established with individual Eastern countries and subsequently with the CEMA itself.

Your visit to the Capitolino, Mr President Gorbachev, reaffirms the understanding of the EC spirit. We are pleased to have had an opportunity to hear your message, which should be a constructive brick in a genuinely common European home, whose creation has always been strongly sought by everyone who loves freedom. It is something that we all aspire to, despite the material and psychological difficulties.

M.S. Gorbachev then made a speech. [passage omitted]

At the end of the speech, which was listened to with great interest, M.S. Gorbachev, F. Cossiga, G. Andreotti, and other officials went out onto the front steps of City Hall and greeted the Romans assembled on the Capitoline Hill.

That evening Italian Prime Minister G. Andreotti held a dinner in honor of M.S. Gorbachev and R.M. Gorbacheva.

Gorbachev Interview 30 Nov

*LD3011194289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 30 Nov 89*

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondents in Rome on 30 November; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Italian correspondent] May I ask you one question? [words indistinct] the future of perestroika?

[Gorbachev] I think we're on the right path. And through perestroika we want to impart...[changes thought] to ennoble our society; because perestroika is democracy, it is glasnost, it is the humanizing of relations. And it encompasses all spheres: economic, political, intellectual. The present stage is the most difficult. Everything has entered, I would say, a period of profound transformations. The going is not easy. There is no going back. We shall move forward carefully.

The main thing now is that we have got to dispose of the most acute problems, and speed up reform, speed up reform. The Supreme Soviet has done good work, and working with the government, a good head start has been made. At its second session, the Supreme Soviet passed 34 decisions. Among them is the law on ownership, which has been submitted for discussion, and on land, on the taxation system, on leasing, and many, many others: on pensions. I think we shall now solve...[changes thought] The others we will solve tomorrow. I am confident that everything will take place.

[Soviet correspondent Tikhomirov] I will also ask a question. We do not have much time, but there is one question which I consider one of the main ones. The people back in the USSR who are now watching the reports on these meetings have a right to ask the question: How will these meetings benefit me personally? Will my family live better after this? How would you answer?

[Gorbachev] Well, I think our people take a rather broader view than your question suggests. That is the comment I will make to you, first of all. Why? Because what we are doing inside the country must ultimately mean a better life. And not only from the point of view of freedom and democracy, but also from the point of view of social conditions. And in order to solve these tasks, we need here not only favorable, peaceful conditions—externally, surrounding our country, which allow us not only to keep military spending at a certain level, but also to reduce it, thus serving and working towards the tasks of which I speak—but we also need this cooperation, in this case with Italy. We value cooperation with this people and with this country—it produces definite economic and social results to both our countries.

So from this point of view, also, we are not here for nothing, and we will now be signing very important decisions, major decisions, through which our Soviet-Italian relations will enter a new stage, especially as far as

economic life is concerned. The outlook is good. The Italians have always been noted for the fact that even when many countries have wavered as to whether or not it was worthwhile to develop relations, they have always cooperated.

In this connection we have amassed a great deal of experience here. You know, great possibilities are opening here for cooperation with medium-sized and small firms, through two associations, Soviet and Italian. That is something we are now going to talk about—it is our topic. And we will be signing a document, and you will see this. So as you see, everything is connected. That is why I made my remark to you. [laughter]

More on Cossiga Dinner Speech

*PM0112105889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS account of speech delivered at 29 November dinner in Rome for M.S. Gorbachev by Italian President F. Cossiga under the general heading: "Common Responsibility for the Fate of Peace"]

[Text] Mr Chairman and General Secretary, esteemed madam, ladies and gentlemen!

It is with particular joy that I ardently welcome you, your wife, and the delegation accompanying you once again on Italian soil and express to you feelings of sincere satisfaction at the fact that you have visited our country at such a special and eventful time in the history of Europe and the whole world.

It is more than 20 years since the last official visit to Italy by the highest representative of power in the Soviet state; during these years relations between our two countries have strengthened and developed in diverse ways, in breadth and depth, affecting practically all spheres.

Our relations have their roots in the distant past and are in the mainstream of the long-standing and rich tradition of contacts and exchanges initiated back in the 13th century, when the Genoese reached the eastern shores of the Crimea, drawn by a thirst for distant travels.

Just as examples of Italian style and art remain forever in the Kremlin, whose walls were rebuilt by Italian architects, or in Leningrad, so Rome, too, carefully preserves the memory of your many outstanding compatriots who lived and worked here among us, captivated by Italian culture and by the Italians' love of beauty. Thus Gogol, who knew the Italian language, so grew to love this city that he conceived and created here his greatest work; thus Gorkiy during his long stays on Capri and in Sorrento devoted himself to fostering the new writers born of the October revolution; thus Anna Akhmatova received in Taormina during the sixties a token of high recognition of her poetic and literary genius.

Mr Chairman, your visit to Rome has coincided with an exceptionally important moment in the life of our continent, which is a witness to and the chief personage in an

impressive process of development at the end of which the possibility of surmounting its division is already emerging quite clearly—as a concrete prospect, not as an ideal wish.

Italy, rating highly your bold realism and your farsighted purposefulness, sees the process of evolution now taking place almost throughout central and East Europe and, above all, the initiatives launched by you and in your country, which has done much to promote and is continuing to promote the great changes taking place today, above all as an opportunity to usher in a new era of cooperation; an era in which dialogue will replace confrontation and active collaboration will take the place of coexistence; an era which will really be happier and more prosperous, for it is founded on free and mutually enriching contacts among people, a fruitful exchange of ideas, and a deepening of dialogue. And I assure you, Mr Chairman, that these desires in Italy are neither the result of cold calculation nor the fruit of reflection on the part of those who govern the country; these are most likely cherished aspirations stemming from the depth of the soul of the entire Italian people and meeting with a unanimous response from all political forces, in the government and in parliament.

Together with its European and Atlantic partners Italy naturally intends to make its contribution to the cause of determining the configuration of the Europe which is now coming into being, in that desire to restore the ideal unity of our continent and our common civilization whose loftiest aims and wishes are enshrined in the concept of a Europe extending to Canada and the United States in accordance with what is written in the Final Act of the Helsinki conference.

The EC unanimously shares this desire, implementing it within the framework of the integration and progress project, in which there is no intention to threaten anyone, rather a desire to share our well-being with the continent's other countries. In this spirit we pursue the aim of strengthening relations between the EEC and the countries of East Europe; this has found concrete expression these days in the successful conclusion of talks between the Soviet Union and the EC, at the same time as the successfully begun political dialogue between us is also developing and deepening.

Mr Chairman, the strengthening of inter-European relations and the process of evolution which we are currently observing in East Europe must fit in with the general picture of stability, avoiding manifestations of national egotism and resisting forces aiming at creating uncertainty. This goal can be achieved more effectively if we renounce the use or threat of force and also if we do not yield to the temptation to ensure our own security to the detriment of others'. The search for stability in turn must not run counter to the peoples' aspiration to be sovereign masters of their destiny, to develop in all their originality, and to opt for the social and political system of their own choice. In other words, we believe that the concepts of security and freedom are inseparable, and

anyone who wants to separate them is not working for Europe or to overcome its division.

So we intend, through joint efforts, to undertake specific actions aimed at resolving crises and the problems set us by the modern world, which we regard as just as dangerous as the problems of the past. I know that your country pursues the same goals. And further confirmation of this will be provided by the meeting between yourself and the U.S. President, which will take place not far from here in 2 days' time, in the waters of the Mediterranean. All peoples hope that this meeting will give a strong new boost to the positive phase of renewal and progress through which the international community is now passing in an atmosphere of ever-greater confidence and mutual respect.

As Leo Tolstoy, your great writer—he is also a great European and a great world writer—said, "it is necessary to provide a human explanation for any historic event." The accords already reached and the reassuring steps forward taken both at the CSCE forum and at the current disarmament talks, whose positive outcome no longer appears unrealistic, are the fruit of the joint, universal desire for peace which is natural for everyone: All governments must be guided by just this desire, so that the new era, which we have already entered, really marks an irreversible transition from the period of confrontation to the period of cooperation.

The government of the Italian Republic intends to give the fullest support to the start of such a qualitatively new process in international relations and to the full recognition in this context of the role of the United Nations Organization as the highest body of international order in the conviction that the elimination of the ideological, political, and economic barriers which still exist between East and West accords with the desire of our peoples, both yours and ours. At the top of their voice they demand respect for human rights and values such as democracy and pluralism, as well as increasingly broad, equal, and universal economic prosperity. Not to satisfy such demands, which are demands of history, would be fraught with serious and dangerous consequences, for anyone who does not struggle against immobility will have to pay for this.

Mr Chairman, I am convinced that the talks which we have had today and also the talks which will take place over the next few days between yourself and the chairman of the Council of Ministers and representatives of the government and the Italian business world are destined to give a new boost in all spheres of bilateral relations and, in particular, in the economic sphere. The perestroika now taking place in the USSR is an important and significant factor: It is contributing to a very real qualitative leap in the transition from strictly commercial relations to economic collaboration in the broad sense of the word. And here the possibility of cooperation in many leading spheres is opening up before us: from power generation to space, from the chemical

industry to ferrous metallurgy, from agriculture to transportation and telecommunications.

So Italy, a country with an ancient history and, at the same time, a country with an advanced industrial economy, is ready to place the fruits of its forward-lookingness, its inventiveness, and its economic potential at the service of the development of relations with the Soviet Union, following a policy of generally strengthening ties between our country and all the Warsaw Pact countries.

In conclusion allow me to cite a well-known line from a verse by Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev, one of your great romantic poets, which reads: "It is possible only to believe in Russia." And we welcome these words in a spirit of trusting and calm optimism, for they express faith in your motherland's tremendous potential.

With these sentiments I wish to raise my glass to the well-being of yourself and your family, to the prosperity of the USSR and Italy, to friendship between our two peoples, and to the health of everyone present.

Themes of Gorbachev 29 Dec Speech

LD3011174989 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The world public has become used to seeing the new political thinking, initiated by President Gorbachev, receive a fresh impetus from each of his foreign visits. The current state visit to Italy is by no means an exception.

The measures to stabilise the situation in the Mediterranean, which he offered on his first day in Italy, are broadly commented upon throughout the world.

It is pertinent to note that in his speech during the November 29 dinner the Soviet president moved to set up an inter-parliamentary and a public research groups to look into problems that will be discussed at the Palma de Mallorca conference on the Mediterranean. Furthermore, Mikhail Gorbachev called for bridges to be built between the USSR and the European Economic Community, between the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and the EEC in order to deal with Mediterranean economic problems.

President Gorbachev also believes it would be expedient to hold consultations with Italy, the United States and possibly the U.N. Security Council on the permanent presence of Soviet and American navies in the Mediterranean. He called for consultations between the USSR, the United States and all the Mediterranean nations on a multilateral agreement to prevent incidents on the sea and in the air. The Soviet president raised this question in the context of general disarmament.

"We cannot imagine disarmament to obviate such an important type of strategic weapons as navies," he stressed. "In the light of the ongoing talks on other types of armaments, it is quite disturbing that the United States and NATO refuse to start negotiations on this problem."

These initiatives are particularly important on the eve of the Soviet president's Malta meeting with the U.S. President scheduled for December 2-3. Although the meeting will be unofficial, observers believe it will touch on the idea of building a "common European home."

Referring to this problem during the dinner given in his honour by the Italian president, Gorbachev called attention to the interconnection between internal and socio-political processes in various countries and international processes, including disarmament and reduction of military confrontation. He stressed that all European policymakers are responsible for the positive interaction of these processes.

Speaking at the dinner, the Italian president Francesco Cossiga expressed his satisfaction with President Gorbachev's visit. He noted the bold realism and vision of the new Soviet leader and stressed that Italy believed these qualities would help usher in a new era of cooperation, an era in which confrontation will be substituted by dialogue and active cooperation will replace coexistence.

Official negotiations are expected to be continued on the second day of President Gorbachev's stay in Italy. The Soviet president will meet leaders of the Italian parliament and of political parties forming the governing coalition. He is also expected to deliver a speech at the Rome municipal council.

Andreotti on Significance of Visit

PM3011160789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Nov 89 special supplement p 4

[Article by Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti: "Thoughts on Eve of Visit"]

[Text] Despite what the Italian papers write, it is not the first time a Soviet head of state has paid an official visit to Italy and crossed the threshold of the Vatican. It was done in the late sixties by Nikolay Podgornyy, who was fond of saying (of course, the full meaning of the words did not register with us at the time) that he was a Ukrainian, not a Russian. It is interesting to recall that when I accompanied him on a trip to Turin he asked me to ascertain whether he would be able to smoke in the presence of Pope Paul VI.

Evidently, he found it hard to concentrate and have a quiet talk without a cigarette.

But, certainly, Gorbachev's visit goes far beyond conventional diplomatic exchanges and protocol. Our public opinion is so keenly aware of this that if our guest were

to accept all the invitations from cities, universities, and various organizations he would have to plan to stay in Italy for at least 3 months.

How do you explain the extraordinary popularity of the new Soviet leader?

There are three equally important reasons: The extensive talks with the West; the profound transformations in the Soviet Union; the external consequences of perestroika, both in the fraternal countries and in the world's hot spots, where Moscow's moderation is making an ever increasing impact. Contacts with Washington, in particular the meeting to take place in the Mediterranean immediately after Milan, have maintained a good tempo, even though there are certain difficulties on strategic missiles, when an agreement on reducing them by half seemed imminent. Moreover, the Vienna talks on conventional armaments and the Geneva talks on banning chemical weapons are making pretty good progress.

Gorbachev is facing major obstacles when it comes to rebuilding a society that was previously in an appalling condition, supported by various props which eventually collapsed. A combination of freedom and economic development, difficult even in traditionally democratic countries, is even more difficult, dramatic even, given the chronological passage through such periods as tsarism and totalitarianism. It is inevitable that tumultuous debates should occur, grievances be expressed, and centrifugal trends emerge when people are given the opportunity to publicly discuss the most complex and contradictory questions concerning nationalities.

Mistakes in this sphere could cause a crisis and undermine the entire edifice of peaceful renewal.

Scientific cooperation, which Zichichi and Velikhov have been involved in for a long time within the framework of the World Laboratory and which has done a great deal to bring our countries closer together, is also on the agenda for Gorbachev's conversations with the Italian Government.

As for the Vatican, Gorbachev is going there after the widely celebrated millennium of Holy Russia and the Supreme Soviet's solemn declaration of the right of every Soviet citizen to be or not to be a believer.

I believe that John Paul II will rejoice in his heart to see the abandonment of one of the harshest theses of the past.

Religion is not the opium that has to be combatted. Gorbachev is well aware of this.

Gorbachev Meeting With Pope Previewed

LD3011212389 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 30 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In connection with the forthcoming meeting in the Vatican between Mikhail

Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state of the Vatican, has kindly agreed to give an interview to Soviet Television. Secretary of state is a very important post in the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, in effect it's the number two post after the pope. Monsignor Casaroli, you have been serving in the Vatican for almost half a century now; would you be so kind as to describe the contribution made to the Vatican's foreign policy by the present head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II?

[Begin Recording] [Casaroli in Italian, with superimposed Russian translation] There are three main strands in the pope's social policy in international relations. First, he devotes a great deal of attention to the defense of human and national rights. Second, he considers it particularly essential to defend the rights of Third World countries in relations between north and south. The third strand is a policy of maintaining peace in East-West relations.

[Unidentified correspondent] Literally in a few hours time, the historic meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II begins—the first meeting between the head of the Soviet state and leader of the CPSU and the head of the Roman Catholic Church. I would like to ask what the official Vatican attitude towards this event is?

[Casaroli] I'd like to say that great hopes are being placed on the success of this meeting not only by the Vatican, but by the whole world. I think that those who are looking forward to a magnificent spectacle are going to be disappointed—we are expecting results of a different kind, more concrete ones, and we want to believe in them. The first and main feature of the meeting is that it will be a conversation between two important personalities and, at the same time, politicians: the president of the USSR who is, at the same time, the party leader. When President Podgornyy came to the Vatican in 1967 he was also head of state, but he had no real political power. Gorbachev is another matter. I had the honor of getting to know him personally in Moscow in June 1988, and had the opportunity of assessing his strength and will. The other participant in the meeting is John Paul II, a strong personality with clear ideals, a very magnanimous and open man. The meeting, therefore, cannot fail to bring results. I'm not going to say what they might be, I'm no prophet. Let's wait a little and see.

[Correspondent] Thank you. [end recording]

[Video shows interview in the Vatican]

Gorbachev Meets Pope 1 Dec

LD0112112789 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Rome December 1 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

President Gorbachev has begun talks with Pope John Paul II. The tete-a-tete conversation is being held in the Papal Library without interpreters. The pontiff speaks Russian.

Vatican State Secretary Cardinal Agostino Casaroli and Secretary of the Council for State Affairs Angelo Sodano are holding talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev and Nikolay Lunkov.

Pope's Speech at Gorbachev Meeting

LD0112144289 Rome Raiuno Television Network
in Italian 0850 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Speech by Pope John Paul II at a meeting with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev in the Vatican—live; the Pope speaks in Russian with superimposed Italian translation, following is from the Italian translation]

[Excerpt] Mr President, I am extremely pleased to have the opportunity to address you and your very dear wife, the foreign minister, and all members of your delegation, giving you my most warm welcome. The fact that you have come to the descendant of the apostle, Peter, is very significant in the history of the relations of the Soviet Union with the Apostolic Throne, and is thus regarded with great interest by the whole world and by all people of good will.

As is known, the house of the Pope of Rome has always been a house for the representatives of all the peoples of the world and so, Mr President, welcome. In your person, I also want to greet all the people of all the republics of the Soviet Union, whom I address with respect and love. [passage omitted]

Mr President, I would like to see your visit against the background of the celebration of the millenium at the same time as a seed full of promise for the future. This, in fact, allows us to look to the future of the faithful in the Soviet Union with greater confidence. Everyone knows the events of the past years and painful tests to which so many people were put because of their faith. In particular, it is known how many Catholic communities today anxiously await the moment when they can reform themselves and enjoy the guiding hand of their shepherds. Recent developments and the new prospects which have opened up lead us to hope for a change in the situation thanks to your government's decision, which has been repeated often, to proceed to a renewal of internal legislation, aimed at bringing it into line with the solemn international commitments which have also been signed by the Soviet Union.

Now, I make my own the hopes of millions of your fellow citizens and of millions of people in the world, which is that the law on freedom of conscience which will soon be discussed by the Supreme Soviet, will contribute to the guarantee for all believers of the full exercise of the right to religious freedom, which is—as I have often said—the basis for all the other freedoms. My thoughts go especially to those Christians who live in the Soviet Union, in

full communion with the Apostolic See. For all of them, whether they be of the Latin or Byzantine or Armenian rite, I pray that they can freely practice their religious life.

In a climate of newfound freedom, the Catholics will thus be able to collaborate suitably with the brothers in the Orthodox Church [words indistinct]. In fact we have a common patrimony with them and with them we want to work in a renewed ecumenical task to take Christ's gospel to future generations and to work together in the enormous field of the development of man in the expectation of rebuilding that unity which Christ wanted for his Church.

With you, Mr President, we have also been able to talk about the international situation and of some specific pressing problems. We also discussed the development of our contacts whether they be for the solution of the problems of the Catholic Church in the Soviet Union or for promoting a common commitment for peace and international collaboration. This collaboration is possible because its aim and subject is man. In fact, man is the way of the Church, as I have said from the beginning of my papacy. And if the Church manages to know the mystery of man in the light of the mystery of Christ then it is true that this is understood even through the experiences of individuals such as through events and the defeat of nations. For this, the Church as an expert in mankind, today links itself, now more than ever, with all those who want to serve the cause of man and to contribute to the progress of nations.

At the end of the 2d millennium of the Christian era, the Church calls on all those who have the fate of all humankind in their hearts to join together in a common commitment for its material and spiritual elevation. Such concern for man could lead not only to the overcoming of international tension and an end to the confrontations between blocks but it could also favour the birth of a universal solidarity, as I have already stressed, helps us to see the other person, people or nation, not as any sort of instrument, but as our [word indistinct], a help, to be a participant, like us, at the banquet of life to which all men are equally invited by God.

This goes in particular for the strongest and richest nations. Concerning them, I observed that overcoming imperialism of any type, with the aim of keeping their own hegemony, they ought to feel morally responsible for others, so that a real international system can be installed which will be based on the equality of all peoples and on the necessary respect of their legitimate differences.

True, mankind today waits for new forms of cooperation and mutual aid. The tragedy of World War II showed us that if basic moral values are forgotten, terrible consequences can emerge for the fate of peoples and the greatest projects can fail. For this, in the Apostolic letter written to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the

beginning of World War II, I felt the need to remind mankind that there is no peace if man and law are disregarded, and if the rights of all the people, especially the most vulnerable, are not respected. And I have told government leaders, and statesmen of my deep conviction that respect for God and respect for man go together. They constitute the absolute principle which will allow the states and political blocs to go beyond their antagonism.

Mr President, in this meeting cannot but strike world public opinion because of its novelty and because of its singular significant sign of the times which have slowly passed and which are full of promise. The Holy See is following with great interest the process of renewal which you started in the Soviet Union. It hopes for success. It is ready to help any initiative which serves to better protect and harmonize the rights and duties of man and people, to safeguard peace in Europe and the world. (Tomorrow) you will have a meeting with U.S. President George Bush. I warmly hope and pray that the forthcoming talks can lead to new agreements, inspired in attentive reception of the demands and hopes of (each one).

I express my best wishes to you personally for success in your mission, to you and your family and to your country. I invoke the benediction of Almighty God.

Gorbachev Vatican Speech

*LD0112140189 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT
1 Dec 89*

[Text] Vatican City December 1 TASS—Following is the text of a speech at the Vatican on Friday by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev:

"Your Holiness, gentlemen,

I thank you for your kind attention and for the interest you have shown toward my country, our policies and our views about the world.

"A truly extraordinary event has taken place. It has become possible due to the profound changes that are sweeping many countries and nations. What is more, we can expect it to help assure their positive continuation.

"We had much to discuss. I feel that my thoughts and concerns have been duly appreciated, as well as my explanations of the problems that now exist in our country, including problems between the state and various churches, which we are addressing in a spirit of democracy and humanism and within the framework of perestroika.

"The Soviet Union and the Holy See participate in the Helsinki process. To the extent of their abilities and with due regard for their special roles, both are helping it to proceed at a normal pace, promote solutions to common European problems and create a favourable external environment enabling nations to make their own independent choice.

"Respect for the people's national, state, spiritual and cultural identity is an indispensable condition for a steady international environment which Europe and the world now need to cross the historic watershed and attain a new period of peace.

"We proceed from these positions in initiating our dialogue with the Holy See—the dialogue which has now been consecrated by this summit meeting. I am pleased to note the high degree of mutual understanding and readiness to fill this dialogue with specific actions.

"We have reached agreement in principle to give official status to our interstate relations. As for the modalities, they will be determined by our diplomatic officials.

"People of many confessions, including Christians, Moslems, Jews, Buddhists and others, live in the Soviet Union. All of them have a right to satisfy their spiritual needs. Shortly, a law on the freedom of conscience will be adopted in our country. Within the mainstream of perestroika we are learning the difficult and indispensable art of comprehensive cooperation and consolidation of society on the groundwork of our renewal.

"During our talks we discussed a future visit of the Pope to the Soviet Union. To conclude I would like to say the talks were conducted in an atmosphere of benevolence, openness and were full of substance.

"I greet you and join in the good wishes that we have just heard from His Holiness."

Rome TV carries Gorbachev Speech

*LD0112131889 Rome Raiuno Television Network
in Italian 0858 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Speech by USSR President Gorbachev at meeting with Pope John Paul II in the Vatican—live, in Russian with superimposed Italian translation]

[Text] Your Holiness, gentlemen: Thank you for the attention, for the interest shown toward my country and our people.

Thank you for the attention, for the interest shown toward my country, our politics, and our ideas of peace.

An event of extraordinary importance has taken place. This has been made possible thanks to the in-depth changes which concern many countries and peoples, and which at the same time we think will contribute to their positive development. We spoke about a lot of things. And it seems to me that my thoughts and concerns were listened to with understanding, as were my explanations of the problems that we have in our country, including relations between the state and several churches. We are resolving them in the spirit of humanism and democracy, within the framework of perestroika.

The Soviet Union and the Vatican are participants in the pan-European process. Both of them, naturally, depending on their possibilities and particular features are trying to contribute so that it will progress naturally,

and for that to contribute to the solution of pan-European problems and to allow each people to implement their own free choice.

Respect for national, state, cultural, and spiritual differences ought naturally to be essential so that people, through the sharp period of change in which we find ourselves now, can emerge toward a new period of peace. We have started talks with the Vatican from this position, which has now been established with this summit meeting, and I can state with satisfaction that there is an affinity between the views of this dialogue and how to fill it with concrete content.

We have agreed in principle to put an official stamp on relations between our states. The forms will be decided upon by our diplomatic departments. In the Soviet Union there are people of different religions—Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, and others, and they all have the right to satisfy their spiritual needs. We will soon approve a law on the freedom of conscience. In this field of perestroika we are learning—this is difficult but necessary—about global cooperation for common ends.

I greet you all and join in the wishes we have heard from his holiness. I want to tell you that during our talks with the holy father we also spoke about a future visit by the Roman pope to the Soviet Union. And, to end, I want to give thanks for this possibility to exchange views on the important problems facing the peoples of the world, which has taken place in an atmosphere of goodwill, openness, and full content. Thank you for your attention.

Peace Prize Awarded to Gorbachev

LD0112113189 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1021 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Rome, 1 Dec (TASS)—TASS special correspondent report:

Before the official seeing-off ceremony at the Quirinale Palace, Mikhail Gorbachev was present with the "Golden Dove for Peace" prize at his residence. This award is bestowed annually by the independent "Archives of Disarmament Organization" on three journalists and one political figure who have promoted the strengthening of peace.

The 1989 prize was awarded to Mikhail Gorbachev for his enormous contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament. The prize was presented by Senator Luigi Anderlini, the chairman of the organization. Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, other members of the Soviet delegation and representatives of the Italian public were present at the ceremony.

Official Visit Ends

LD0112100289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0939 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Rome, 1 Dec (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report: The state visit to Italy by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, ends today.

The official seeing off ceremony took place in the capital's Quirinale Palace. Francesco Cossiga, president of the Italian Republic, saw off the Soviet leader. The national anthems of the USSR and Italy were played. Giulio Andreotti, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Giovanni Spadolini, chairman of the Senate; Leonilde Iotti, president of the Chamber of Deputies of Parliament; Francesco Saja, president of the constitutional court; and also members of the Italian delegation who attended the talks were present at the ceremony.

Leaves Rome for Milan

LD0112132489 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Rome December 1 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has left for Milan upon the completion of his state visit to Italy.

He was seen off at the airport by Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis and other officials.

In Milan, the Soviet leader is to meet representatives of the Italian business and financial communities and have a concluding conversation with Andreotti.

Gorbachev and Andreotti will hold a joint news conference in Milan.

After Milan, Gorbachev will head for Malta for an informal offshore meeting with U.S. President George Bush.

Results of Gorbachev's Italy Visit Discussed

PM3011200189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 1 Dec 89 First Edition p 5

[Special Correspondent Yu. Subbotin report: "Soviet Days in Rome"]

[Excerpt] "There isn't a single disputed question between us. The sides have stated that," G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry information administration, said as he approached the microphone to inform the journalists assembled in the international press center of the results of the day of intensive Soviet-Italian talks. "Many common factors also emerged during the discussion of how to move away from a system built on confrontation toward a new system of international relations in Europe and in the world as a whole, toward fuller mutual understanding, and consequently to integration."

"In past years," V.V. Zagladin, adviser to the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, said developing that idea, "we, East and West, seem to have gotten to know one another and to have formulated principles of mutual relations. Now each visit of this kind represents the implementation of those principles. It is necessary to accelerate the building of the common European home on the basis of the realities existing in Europe and with respect for each country's sovereign rights."

The new Soviet proposals on the Mediterranean, which M.S. Gorbachev has called the cradle of many cultures and a zone on which our security depends, are undoubtedly part of that task. The most important of them is the proposal to begin consultations on the question of the permanent presence in that region of the USSR and U.S. naval forces, for which justification could be found only during the cold war period. The Soviet Union is generally concerned at NATO's frank attempt to place the naval forces outside the framework of the arms reduction talks, which may jeopardize much that has been achieved recently.

"The present situation in Europe and the world cannot be viewed from the standpoint of the old political thinking," Ludovico Ortona, chief of the Italian President's press service, believes. "We intend to create a new structure for Europe in accordance with the spirit of Helsinki. There are still many barriers and obstacles on the way to the goal which M.S. Gorbachev has set—the building of the common European home. There is a long path ahead to a new community of the European peoples."

The fact that this path will not be strewn with roses is evidenced by the topic of the possible activation of German revanchism in connection with the processes taking place in the GDR, a topic raised during the talks between the USSR and Italian foreign ministers. This danger worries both the Soviet and the Italian sides, who reiterated their commitment to the principle of the inviolability of postwar borders enshrined in the Helsinki accords. Italian Foreign Minister G. De Michelis considers that the "Helsinki approach" will also make it possible to solve Mediterranean problems. [passage omitted]

Visit Results 'of Immense Significance'

LD0112152789 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Rome December 1 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today completed his visit to Italy. The visit is described as a landmark event not only in the development of bilateral Soviet-Italian relations, but also in the all-European process and the aspiration of both East and West to create a "common European home."

Rome and the Vatican witnessed events of historic significance during the past three days.

Gorbachev's meetings and talks with Italian President Francesco Cossiga, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, members of parliament and representatives of other official and unofficial circles demonstrated the sincere desire of the two countries to promote cooperation, mutual understanding and the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and security in Europe and the world at large.

A package of major bilateral documents was signed during the visit, including a joint Soviet-Italian political declaration.

The declaration endorsed the sides' agreement on many topical issues of world politics in disarmament, environmental protection, the consolidation of European security, the development of East-West and North-South economic cooperation, and humanitarian issues.

A total of more than 20 documents and bilateral agreements were signed.

The Soviet leader's visit to the Vatican and his meeting with Pope John Paul II was one of the highlights of the Italian trip.

After meeting with the Pope, Gorbachev announced that the sides had agreed in principle to establish diplomatic relations and that the head of the Roman Catholic church would visit the Soviet Union in the future.

These are all developments of immense significance for all of mankind.

In Milan, the Soviet president is to meet representatives of Italy's business and financial communities and have a concluding conversation with Giulio Andreotti.

Gorbachev and Andreotti will conduct in Milan a joint news conference on the results of the meeting.

From Milan, Gorbachev will fly to Malta for an informal offshore meeting with U.S. President George Bush.

Shevardnadze Comments on Meeting With Zahir Shah

LD3011121789 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome November 30 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is in Italy in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, met former Afghan King Muhammad Zahir Shah.

They discussed a political settlement of the Afghan problem.

"I had very interesting and, I would say, useful talks. Their agenda is already well known: an Afghan settlement and peace in Afghanistan. I think this was a useful step and a necessary meeting," Shevardnadze told journalists afterwards.

Silayev Meets With Von Weizsaecker in Bonn

LD3011203489 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1305 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn, 30 Nov (TASS)—Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the FRG, today received I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is here on a visit. During the conversation, the president noted the positive changes in Soviet-West German relations and pointed out the need for the further development and deepening of the common European process. He stressed that the maintenance of political stability on the continent and interaction in the creation of joint structures of security in Europe is a necessary condition for the successful development of economic and humanitarian cooperation of all countries participant in the CSCE.

I.S. Silayev informed the president about the state of economic cooperation between the USSR and the FRG and about the process of perestroika taking place in the Soviet Union. He expressed satisfaction with the course of the implementation of joint Soviet-West German projects.

There was also a meeting in Bonn today between the cochairmen of the Soviet-FRG intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-technical Cooperation at which I.S. Silayev and FRG Minister for Economics Helmut Haussmann reviewed the implementation of agreements and accords reached during the Soviet-West German summit meetings in October 1988 in Moscow and June 1989 in Bonn. It was noted that in general they are being carried out in a satisfactory way.

Special attention was paid to questions concerning the further expansion of bilateral trade, the diversification of its structure, the development of joint entrepreneurship in all of its forms; technical and economic cooperation in a number of priority directions—environmental protection, transportation, modernization of enterprises of the light and food industries, the aviation industry, and others.

Questions were considered concerning preparations for the 23d session of the Soviet-FRG commission which it is planned to hold in the spring of 1990 in Moscow.

Talks also took place between I.S. Silayev and members of the delegation, and leaders of a number of firms in the FRG, during which concrete projects and problems of developing cooperation were discussed.

Commentator on Western Views of United Germany

LD3011214689 Moscow World Service in English
1510 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The American President, George Bush, and the West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, have discussed by telephone Mr Kohl's plan for German reunification, which he outlined a couple of days earlier. Later the

secretary of state, Mr James Baker, told reporters that the American position on German reunification should essentially embrace whole principles, one of which stipulates that a reunified Germany should be a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Economic Community. Yuriy Minayev comments:

[Minayev] There have been suggestions in the West that a reunited Germany might be neutral, with West Germany withdrawing from NATO and the German Democratic Republic from the Warsaw Treaty; but James Baker said the United States opposed such a West German withdrawal from NATO so it looks like the West has already decided who should move and in what direction. It is the East and the road leads to the West. The leaders of both West Germany and the United States have mentioned that it is for the people of the two Germanies who should decide for themselves whether they want unity and what form it should take, but, nevertheless, the message is quite clear; it is addressed to the people of the GDR, the terms are stringent and it is the GDR that is expected to change everything and say thank you for permission to be incorporated.

Mr Baker has also warned against the delusion of what he called the Federal Republic of Germany's liberal democratic character. Meanwhile, polls conducted in the German Democratic Republic have shown that 87 percent of Berliners, for example, want to stay in the country and are against their reunification. And according to sociological research institutes of West Berlin which polled the first 1,000 people to cross the Berlin wall, 80 percent favored two separate democratic Germanies. One of the leaders of the opposition group New Forum in the GDR said his movement advocated a new economy and freedoms but not reunification or bringing Western values to the country.

So the situation is far from being simple but in my opinion the main problem is whether political diktat or, if you like, political conditions continue to poison international relations. If so, then those politicians in the West who say the cold war is not over are right.

An old philosopher once said you shall not deprive anybody of the right to change nor shall you show how it should be done. It is a fact that only now are we turning our face away from Stalinism to genuine socialism and it is indeed difficult to understand why the West should reject outright something not yet created.

Perfilyev Interviewed on German 'Revanchism'

LD0112042889 Paris Domestic Service in French
0700 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The idea of German unity awakens an old reflex among Soviet citizens, the reaction to German revanchism. Vadim Perfilyev, adviser to the Soviet foreign minister, confirms this point of view in an interview with [Moscow correspondent] Ulysse Gosset.

[Begin recording] [Gosset] Moscow does not want to hear of reunification?

[Perfilyev] Not at all. We do not think this is on the agenda. When we say revanchism we naturally think of the slogans still appearing occasionally which recall the years before the war. We want to avoid this. We think that in this field the Soviet citizens are not alone in being worried, and that it is quite natural and normal for

Europeans to try to safeguard what has been gained—the gains which have enabled this peaceful development, in fact.

[Gosset] Do you really think there is a threat of German revanchism today in 1989?

[Perfilyev] I think there is the threat of thinking that a return to the past is possible. This is the threat for the moment. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Session

Resolution on Stabilizing Consumer Market

PM3011105389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1, 3

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Additional Measures To Stabilize the Consumer Market and Strengthen State Control of Prices"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet notes that the continuing unwarranted growth in the population's money incomes, which is considerably faster than the increase in consumer goods production, and the failure to fulfill the plan for deliveries of them to the trade network have complicated the consumer market situation. Shortages of many basic necessities have been exacerbated, there is an unwarranted increase in prices, and the cheap range of goods is being "eroded." Consumer demand for certain types of goods is overheated. This is creating social tension and is complicating the situation for low-income groups of the population.

In order to stabilize the consumer market, strengthen state price controls, and increase the production of basic necessities the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves that:

1. To suspend for the 4th quarter of 1989 and for 1990 the operation of:

paragraph 10 of Article 17 of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" relating to setting contract prices for basic foodstuffs sold by state trade outlets, apart from potatoes, dessert grapes, fruit and vegetables, and products processed from them, including canned goods, and for certain groups of socially significant nonfood goods, above all for children and elderly people.

The USSR Council of Ministers must within 10 days approve the list of aforementioned goods, in coordination with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU];

Article 19 of the law relating to the conclusion of economic contracts for the export of consumer goods and raw material for their production in excess of the quotas set by the plan.

It is deemed advisable to introduce licensing of exports of consumer goods and the basic raw materials for their production by all participants in foreign economic links. The USSR Council of Ministers must within 10 days establish a procedure for issuing licenses for the aforementioned operations.

2. Union republic supreme soviets are recommended:

to enhance labor collectives' responsibility for the adoption and implementation of state orders for the production of consumer goods. To take a regular look at progress in fulfilling plans for producing these goods and supplying the market with them;

on the basis of local conditions, to adopt measures to expand and adjust the list of light industry goods sold at socially low prices;

to actively involve republican people's control committees, trade union councils, and consumer societies in implementing measures to prevent overpricing of goods and services and the "erosion" of cheap consumer goods and to complete the creation of a state price control system;

to consider the question of setting seasonally differentiated maximum retail prices for the most important types of fruit and vegetables and potatoes, and to strengthen controls over their correct application, if necessary using subsidies out of the local budget to make up the difference between them and contract purchase prices.

3. The USSR Council of Ministers and union republic councils of ministers must substantially expand the composition of the state order in state plans for economic and social development in 1990, with a view to envisaging in it production and delivery to the market of the most important light industry goods measured in physical terms (fabrics, clothing, footwear, knitted goods, and hosiery), increase the planned list of cultural, everyday, and household goods, and also include in the state order the production of basic types of raw materials, parts, and materials for their production.

4. To note that the USSR Council of Ministers is implementing additional measures:

to strengthen state price controls:

a list of consumer goods has been drawn up for which state retail prices remain unchanged—meat and meat products, basic types of fish, fish products, and canned fish, butter, edible animal fats, vegetable oil, margarine and margarine products, milk and dairy products, herring, cheese, eggs, sugar, tea, salt, flour, bread and bakery products, groats and pulses, pasta, baby and dietetic food, clothing and footwear for children and the elderly at socially low prices, and school writing materials;

specific work is being done to prevent popular cheap goods from being removed from production and to prevent any increase in retail prices of new goods that is disproportionate to the change in their quality, technical and economic indicators, and consumer properties;

it is stipulated that as of 1 January 1990 contract prices of new nonproduction goods to which such prices may still be applied, as a rule, cannot be marked up more than 30 percent above state retail prices;

to stabilize the consumer market:

Union republic councils of ministers will provide in draft economic and social development plans for a state order for the production of goods for children and old people, including goods at socially low prices, and the requisite fabrics, parts, and other materials for this purpose and will also establish a procedure for marketing

these goods which guarantees that they will be sold to the relevant groups of the population;

During the 4th quarter of 1989 and in 1990 USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers will implement the requisite measures to relieve the strains in supplies to the population of synthetic detergents, toothpaste, school uniforms, notebooks, panty hose, zippers, batteries, razor blades, electric irons, needles for sewing machines, tobacco, and household and toilet soap and improve supplies of popular medicines;

USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers will be set additional targets for the sale of products in 1990 through a reduction of above-normative stocks and surpluses of raw materials, supplies, equipment, semimanufactures, and waste products to enterprises producing consumer goods and also to cooperatives and persons engaged in individual labor activity;

in 1990 the USSR Defense Ministry will transfer to the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply additional materials and equipment and personal and household articles for sale to the population and to cooperatives through retail outlets;

the USSR State Committee for Statistics, in conjunction with the USSR State Committee on Prices, will devise in the 1st quarter of 1990 a system for calculating price and inflation indexes, and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, in conjunction with the AUCCTU, will prepare proposals for introducing appropriate compensation payments for people with fixed incomes and, first and foremost, for low-income groups of the population;

local soviet executive committees are to take steps to expand the sale of housing to the population from the state housing stock.

[Signed] USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman M. Gorbachev.

The Kremlin, Moscow, 20 November 1989.

Debate on Baltic Autonomy Bill Viewed

PM3011145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy report under the rubric "At the Second USSR Supreme Soviet Session": "Parliament Completes Its Work"]

[Excerpts] The last day of the work of the second USSR Supreme Soviet session began 28 November with a discussion of a question postponed the day before—that of an amnesty for former servicemen from the Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan who have committed crimes. A.I. Lukyanov chaired the morning plenary sitting. [passage omitted]

...The day before we said in our report from the Kremlin how fruitfully the last working week of the second USSR Supreme Soviet session began at the morning sitting 27 November. [passage omitted]

We said in our last report that the session returned to the draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Land soon after the first recess in the morning plenary sitting. Let us highlight these events in a somewhat more detailed manner. A.A. Nikonov and A.A. Sobchak delivered a report on behalf of two committees. The debate began. Deputies I.N. Shundeyev, B.T. Palagnyuk, L.F. Valentinov, and others took part in it. A whole series of thoughts were voiced on the draft law. Deputies were particularly concerned to ensure that the new law, if adopted, really "works."

The debate was gaining momentum, so to speak, when the time came for the lunch break. The question was postponed until the evening.

It must be noted here that, at the request of the Supreme Soviet chairman, deputies advanced the evening sitting by 1 hour. It began under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev with a discussion of the draft Law on the Economic Autonomy of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republics. Examined and adopted on the first reading back at the first session, this legislative act was the subject of stormy disputes and fundamental disagreements over a whole series of its provisions during the current session. Following long disputes between the session's participants, on 24 November the Supreme Soviet instructed several committees and committees, along with the USSR Council of Ministers and representatives of groups of people's deputies from the Baltic republics, to put the finishing touches to this document in view of the host of comments and proposals voiced at the plenary sitting, along with the amendments submitted to permanent parliamentary bodies by a number of deputies.

V.M. Vologzhin, chairman of the Committee for Economic Reform Questions, reported on the work conducted in the coordinating commission and that the sides had finally reached consensus by way of mutual compromise and the quest for mutually beneficial solutions. He described the draft article by article, indicated the changes made, and proposed ratifying the document without additional discussion.

Then L.A. Aboimov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took the rostrum. The work on this law, he said, is taking place in a complex situation, in conditions of major contradictions. Today we have the result of many months of work, questing, and the coordination of contradictory positions. This is the result of a rapprochement between approaches and understanding of the problems. Good intentions and mutual steps toward rapprochement were manifested during the preparation of this draft. We must take the first step—a sufficiently bold and radical step—in order, L.I. Abalkin stressed, to accumulate some practical groundwork from

the three republics' experience which will enable us to better highlight the problems that arise in this sphere. This will be an important step toward our further progress and in general toward the resolution of problems of the economic autonomy of all union republics and the establishment of rational mutual relations between republics and also between republics and the USSR.

The speaker noted that the draft law will probably be adopted before the ratification of a number of fundamental economic laws—on ownership, land, and on a unified tax system. That is why it is possible that in the future there may have to be additions to it making it possible to regulate processes more fully. Some problems will fade automatically.

Having examined the results of the coordinating commission's work, L.I. Abalkin continued, the country's government is proposing to make two clarifications to the draft. The first concerns the procedure for mutual relations in the sphere of the budget and payments into the union budget. The second concerns the allocation to the republics of quotas for specific types of centrally distributed resources without distribution according to sector and sphere.

The deputy head of the government was speaking more as an expert called upon from the standpoint of science and his own economic experience to draw a conclusion regarding the additional work carried out within the committees and commissions on the draft law. However, he was showered with numerous questions (deputies did not let L.I. Abalkin leave the rostrum for an hour).

In response to Deputies V.I. Alksnis, I.P. Zelinskiy, V.A. Labunov, E.Yu. Yusupov, S.F. Akhromeyev, and others, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers underlined, in particular, that if the law on general principles of leadership of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics had been adopted, it would be easier to understand this document today. He voiced the opinion that the draft law was rejected without sufficient reason on both occasions.

M.S. Gorbachev instructed deputies to switch to voting article by article. However, it proved possible to adopt without long disputes only the preamble with a small amendment from Deputy P.G. Bunich. Then not only did the law have to be divided into articles during the voting but the articles also had to be divided into individual paragraphs and clauses. Deputies A.V. Gorbunov, K.D.P. Prunskene, Yu.R. Boyars, and A.A. Plotniyeks defended the draft law vigorously. Deputy V.A. Palm said that the draft law submitted for ratification is a single whole. If it is rehashed anew and various amendments are put forward to every article ad infinitum it will ultimately become a dead letter.

Deputy I.O. Bisher recalled the procedure for the passage of plenary amendments through commissions and committees; if they merit attention after this, they are referred to the Supreme Soviet. Otherwise, if each

deputy proposes his own model of economic accountability, the law will not function. Deputy S.B. Stankevich also supported him with regard to the procedure for the passage of a plenary amendment. Deputies A.A. Denisov and M.L. Bronshteyn also submitted proposals. While N.I. Ryzhkov, without objecting to the draft law's provisions, indicated the need for a summary at the end of the document: All these provisions must not contravene USSR laws.

I am convinced, M.S. Gorbachev said, that we need a law that will propel us forward along the path of economic reform and along the path of filling our federation with new substance. The point the commissions have put forward today and the points the government additionally put forward largely accord with the federation's interests. We will not progress if we do not transcend all past experience, move on to and accumulate new experience, and reveal the possibilities of quest.

The government's proposed amendments were put to the vote. The session's participants voted on each of them individually. The vote for the adoption of the draft as a whole was conducted by name—that was what most deputies demanded. The results here were as follows: 296 "for," 67 "against," and 37 abstentions. In such cases the votes are counted for each chamber individually. [passage omitted]

Resolution Amnesties Afghan War Veterans

PM3011142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On Amnesty for Former Servicemen of Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan who Have Committed Crimes"]

[Text] Guided by the principles of humanism, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To relieve former servicemen of criminal responsibility for crimes they committed during military service in Afghanistan (December 1979 through February 1989).
2. To release from imprisonment those who have been convicted by courts of the USSR and the union republics for crimes committed during military service in Afghanistan.
3. To quash the convictions of those people released from punishment under the present amnesty and also those people who have served sentences for crimes committed during military service in Afghanistan.
4. To instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to approve the procedure for effecting the amnesty within 10 days.
5. This resolution enters into force 15 December 1989.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet,

Moscow, Kremlin, 28 November 1989

Political & Social

Armenian Supreme Soviet Addresses NKAO Issue

NC0112100689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
0545 GMT 1 Dec 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] As we have already reported, the Supreme Soviet deputies of the republic gathered at the Stepan Shaumyan Hall to resume the 10th extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet. The deputies set the agenda. Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, addressed the session on the results of the debate in the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning measures to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

An extensive exchange of views followed. Grigoryan, from the NKAO National Council; Deputies Bagdasaryan and Ananyan; Zori Balayan, USSR people's deputy from the NKAO; His Holiness Vardges, prelate of the NKAO diocese; [name indistinct], USSR people's deputy; and others addressed the meeting.

A commission was set up to draft the text of a declaration for the republic's Supreme Soviet concerning the issue under debate and the statements made by the (?USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs) and the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry in connection with the NKAO problem.

The appeal made by the NKAO National Council to the republic's Supreme Soviet was read out at the meeting. Deputy Levon Ter-Petrosyan made an announcement in this regard. A commission was set up to draft a pertinent draft resolution.

(?The Supreme Soviet continued its meeting in the evening.) The paper has published an ARMENPRES report on the deliberations of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

'United Armenia' To Be Proclaimed

AU3011154289 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 30 (AFP) Some 200,000 Armenian nationalists waited outside the parliament of Soviet Armenia on Thursday as it prepared to proclaim a united Armenian state incorporating the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, nationalist sources said.

The parliament was meeting in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, two days after the Soviet parliament in Moscow voted to end 11 months of direct rule over Nagorno-Karabakh and to grant it "real autonomy" within the surrounding republic of Azerbaijan.

The meeting of the Armenian parliament was attended by 56 of the 65 members of the National Council of Karabakh, a body set up in the summer to oppose direct rule.

An official of the National Armenia Movement, Tigran Oganessian [name as received], told an AFP journalist by phone that the meeting would discuss a "mutual declaration" by the parliament and the council announcing that the "two Armenian states on Soviet territory declare their autonomy and merge into a united Armenian state."

Mr. Oganessian said that some 200,000 residents of Yerevan, many of them on strike since early Thursday awaiting the end of the talks, surrounded the Congress Hall. The discussions were to end late Thursday, he said.

The crowd shouted slogans calling for a "sovereign republic" and yelled that Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh were "indissociable."

Mr. Oganessian predicted that the declaration would be approved by the Armenian parliament but that the [USSR] Supreme Soviet would reject it. In such a case, he said, the Armenian leaders will look to the international community, and especially the United Nations, for help.

According to the nationalist spokesman, the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh have been on strike since Wednesday to denounce the decision of the Supreme Soviet on Tuesday to end direct rule.

Armenian President Urges Moscow Control of NKAO

LD3011152689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1343 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, November 30 (TANJUG)—Armenia is not pleased with the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to withdraw the 'Special Administration Committee' from Azerbaijan's autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh. As learned, when the Supreme Soviet adopted the decision with a vast majority vote on Tuesday, Armenian deputies demonstratively left the session. According to unconfirmed information, Armenian President Gravit Voskayan said that Azerbaijan does not control the situation there, that the decision of the Supreme Soviet was not made in agreement with Armenia, which maintains that the only solution is to keep the special central administration, that is, to leave Nagorno-Karabakh under central control.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov said, for his part, that the leadership of the republic can control the situation in that region, 'We shall guarantee the population in the region full autonomy, respect for their social and economic rights, and cultural autonomy,' he said.

Nagorno-Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan, but Armenia wants it to become part of its territory since 80 percent

of the population there are Armenians. Such demands have aggravated relations between the two republics, caused much unrest and conflicts, and the region was placed under central control in January this year.

Under the Supreme Soviet decision Azerbaijan is responsible for the security of the people in Nagorno-Karabakh and must give them greater autonomous rights. Until the situation becomes normal, an adequate military contingent of the Soviet Interior Ministry remain there, which will be responsible to a control commission in charge of following the implementation of the Supreme Soviet's decision.

Observer circles in Moscow believe that the decision about the delicate question of relations between the two republics and two nations will not pass without difficulties.

Azerbaijan Party Meets on NKAO Resolution

PM3011163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Dzhalilov report: "Situation in Baku"]

[Text] Baku—A meeting of the republic party and economic aktiv was held in Baku Wednesday 29 November to examine the tasks of implementing the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast." In his speech A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, described this document as timely and, in terms of its spirit and purpose, as meeting the aspirations of the republic's working people with regard to stabilizing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh as an inalienable part of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], ending the violence, and establishing peace and quiet in the region. The resolution adopted by the Soviet parliament sets the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs and all working people responsible tasks of implementing its provisions and calls for painstaking, thoughtful work and civic activeness in the name of reviving socioeconomic life in the district and restoring good-neighborly relations between the two peoples.

A well-attended rally was held the same day in Baku's Lenin Square following an appeal by the leaders of the Azerbaijan People's Front. The speakers there made their own assessments of the adopted document, perceiving it as an infringement of the republic's sovereign rights. A demand was made for an extraordinary session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet to be convened. It was also decided not to suspend the strike which began 27 November.

Supports CPSU Decision

NC0112081789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 1 Dec 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has adopted a decision in connection with the tasks of the republic's party, state, and social organizations resulting from the USSR Supreme Soviet decision on the measures required to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

The decision, which was published on the front pages of the newspapers today, said that the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 28 November is an important document. It secures Azerbaijan's sovereignty over the NKAO and aims at ending interethnic discord and providing for the NKAO's social and economic development and the strengthening of relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. The USSR Supreme Soviet's decision assigns a very responsible task to Azerbaijan's party and state organs and all the people; that is, the normalization of the situation in the NKAO.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has called on the republic's communists and all workers carefully to consider and fulfill the tasks established by the USSR Supreme Soviet to normalize the situation in the NKAO, restore friendly relations and security between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, and reinstate the [word indistinct] life of our intellectuals.

Armenia Told Not To Interfere

NC3011202389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on the measures required to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] is being debated. Here is Professor Guseyn Akhmedov, director of the pedagogical [word indistinct] of the Azerbaijan State Pedagogical Institute:

[Begin Akhmedov recording] There is an impression, that is, a view, among the comrades, the professors, the students, and the people in general that a number of the aspects of this decision are not in our favor [words indistinct]. Of course, [words indistinct]. However, I wish to present a different meaning to the adoption of the decision.

It must be agreed everywhere, that is, in high-level meetings and [words indistinct], that there should be neither a winning nor a losing side. But there are a number of aspects I want to stress. First, the fact that NKAO is Azerbaijan's inseparable part has been legally confirmed by the government and the USSR Supreme Soviet once again. This is significant. NKAO is within Azerbaijan's framework. This is the first point.

The second is that the decision has noted that the Armenian SSR should not interfere in NKAO's affairs in the future. The main thing is that the responsibility of realizing the measures required to normalize the situation in NKAO has been assigned to Azerbaijan's government and Supreme Soviet. This is a legal situation and it should make us happy.

[Words indistinct] the republic's leaders and individual ministries, administrations, organizations, and all the people (?contribute to) the realization of the USSR Supreme Soviet decision's provisions in an organized, consistent, and productive way.

Furthermore, one of the points that has drawn our attention is that the activities of the committee that was established about a year ago, that is, the committee that is headed by Volskiy, will be halted. A new monitoring and observation committee will be created [words indistinct]. This is necessary. I believe that the demand of the two republics for the removal of the disputes is logical, necessary, and beneficial. Each and every one of us must succeed in fully realizing all the provisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision. [end recording]

Azerbaijanis Vow To Continue Strike

*AU3011181989 Paris AFP in English 1752 GMT
30 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow, Nov 30 (AFP)—A strike crippling the Azerbaijan capital Baku will continue until the republic's parliament decides what to do "to normalize the situation" in the troubled Nagorno-Karabakh region, a spokeswoman for the Azerbaijan National Front said Thursday.

Only schools, hospitals and the food industry were open in Baku, spokeswoman Leila Yunussova told Agence France-Presse by telephone.

The strike was begun last week in a bid to force Soviet authorities to reaffirm that the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh—center of a dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia—belongs to Azerbaijan.

On Tuesday the Soviet Supreme Soviet restored Azerbaijan's control over the territory. However on Wednesday, hundreds of thousands of people opposed to the order demonstrated in Baku and the Armenian capital Yerevan.

Mrs. Yunussova said Azerbaijan Communist Party chief Abdul Rakhman Vezirov briefed National Front representatives Wednesday about plans to restore normalcy in Nagorno-Karabakh.

She said he told them local authorities would be checking identity cards and that only people who had been living there since before 1988 would be allowed to remain. That was the year the dispute between the two republics began.

Although the region is under Azerbaijani control, the mainly ethnic Armenian population wants it to become part of Armenia. For the past year and a half, Armenians have accused Azeris of seeking to change the demographic make-up of the population.

Under the federal Supreme Soviet vote Tuesday, a special federal committee that has run the enclave since

January is to be abolished and its tasks handed over to a 15-member local panel comprising both Azeris and Armenians.

The spokeswoman said the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet was to meet to approve the decisions, and the National Front would meet afterwards.

More than 120 people are said to have been killed in violence linked to the territorial dispute.

Azerbaijan Railway Situation Reported

*NC0112111889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] There has been a significant difference of opinion on the disruption of work and the blocking of railway transportation during the past 2 or 3 days. The newspapers report that 5,300 rail cars or 287,000 tons of freight, have not arrived in the republic during this period. A total of 150,000 tons of freight was not dispatched to the consumers.

According to reports, many of the freight dispatching centers have halted the dispatch of goods to our republic and channeled them to other destinations.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Appeal on Railways

*NC0112111489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The deputies of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet have expressed concern over the situation of the Azerbaijan railways. An appeal adopted by the 12th session of the 11th convocation of the RSFSR Soviet Soviet said: More than 40,000 railcars loaded with economic goods have been stranded on the southeastern tracks of the northern Caucasus regions, which are Azerbaijan's neighbors, and on a number of other tracks. The work rhythm in industrial establishments and construction organizations has been disrupted and transportation of passengers has (?slowed down).

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet calls on the fraternal Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to put into effect the measures required to normalize the work of the republic's railway transportation establishments.

You can read the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's appeal to the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the front pages of the newspapers.

Karabakh Aid Committee's Operations Reviewed

*90US0176A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY
in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 2*

[Article by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent B. Imanguliyev: "Aid for the Committee for Aid"]

[Text] The Committee for Aid to Karabakh extends protection to over 50 Azerbaijani villages of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Several months have passed since this public organization was created. How is this aid realized in practice? What is the moral and material support provided to the Azerbaijani villages of NKAO at present? The answers to all these questions can be found only in Nagorno-Karabakh itself.

In Nagorno-Karabakh at the Committee for Aid to Karabakh I met with the deputy chairman of its board, A. Safarov. He spoke to me about his concerns: "We are having a hard time. Our committee is restricted in its activities by the lack of transportation, communications, and power, and by blocked roads."

Here is an opinion of G. Musayeva. She is what we call a private individual, an employee of a research and production association for space studies. "It seems to me that the press gets carried away when it covers the work of the committee. So many problems have accumulated within the short period of its existence. They should be described, too."

Yes, there is no end of information in newspapers about the money donated and about automobile convoys going to the NKAO. We have read about houses being built and branches of various enterprises opening in the villages. In Shusha I was told that in the last 2 years over 30 industrial outlets were set up, and they provided jobs for more than a thousand people. During my visit to the oblast I myself realized the scale of the work that was done.

The committee does not have exact figures about all the aid it has received as those figures keep changing every day. To date the total amount has exceeded R60 million.

All the Azerbaijani villages of the oblast are distributed among the regions and various establishments of the republic. Material and technical supplies are directed to the Agdam region, which houses the headquarters of the Committee for Aid to Karabakh. It is headed by G. Aliyev, first deputy chairman of the Agdam Rayispolkom [rayon executive committee]. He has enough concerns now. He has to find efficient solutions for all the problems of aiding people who find themselves in difficult circumstances. The cargoes that arrive are given military escorts but, according to G. Aliyev, that does not guarantee that the convoys will reach their destination. It is often that one can see broken up convoys.

Day and night freight traffic is moving through the Agdam region to Nagorno-Karabakh. Aid is also extended to other regions bordering the oblast. Members of the committee have long restricted themselves in hours of sleep and rest. Another center for aid to the cut-off villages is in Shusha. People gather every morning by the building of the Shusha Rayispolkom. Their eyes have a tired look. Some of them fly into Shusha by helicopter, some come by car, and still others

come across the mountains on foot. They stay to spend a minimum of 2 nights there as it is impossible to get what they need immediately.

Some weaknesses in the organization of aid to the villages can be explained by a number of objective reasons. One of them is the insufficient concentration of local authority. The first secretary of the party raykom [rayon committee] in Shusha, V. Dzhabarov, is also a people's deputy of the USSR and a member of the Supreme Soviet, which means he is often away from home. The position of second secretary of the party raykom is vacant. The chairman of the Shusha Rayispolkom, M. Gezalov, has only enough time to receive the Azerbaijanis fleeing from the villages of the oblast. The position of first deputy chairman of the Shusha Rayispolkom is also vacant. But it is here, to the regional center that people come for help from almost all the Azerbaijani villages of the oblast. It is obvious that the framework of local power can hardly cope with the problems of the Azerbaijani part of the oblast if it is not supported by leadership.

The air traffic is quite disorganized, too.

"There are a number of reasons for that," says helicopter commander M. Dadashev. "We should be airborne for 7 hours a day, but in reality we do half of that. There is no organization in the work of the airports. We spend most of our time catering to the groups of people arriving here on business. I do not mean that they should come here as seldom as possible. Quite the opposite. They all come here with a noble mission. We understand and appreciate this. But if the work were scheduled better we could have made twice as many flights, we could have managed to carry both passengers and cargoes."

Everybody in Nagorno-Karabakh keeps talking about honesty, order, and organization.

"The Lenin Rayon of the city of Baku took Khatynbekli and our village under its protection," says Manikli village school Principal A. Meydanov. "But somehow all the aid is directed to Khatynbekli, which has fewer than 40 households. Nobody is concerned with our village of 130 households. All the materials go to Khatynbekli." I am trying to untangle this situation. As it was explained in the Shusha Rayispolkom, the village of Manikli falls under the protection of Khachmas. Strangely enough, neither Manikli nor Khachmas knows about this. But the first copy of the newspaper AZERBAIJAN provides a list of NKAO villages and of regions and organizations that support them. This list again names the Lenin Rayon of Baku as the sponsor of Manikli. I called the Committee for Aid to Karabakh and asked for explanations. What I got in response was not very polite advice to mind my own problems.

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of Manikli and are going to do it in future. But such errors should not occur under serious organization. In such matters there is no excuse for any slips."

For the people of Karabakh today, moral support is not any less important. Anybody coming on a business trip from Baku is welcomed like a dear guest and invited to any home. One of my colleagues refused another invitation, and as if to justify it said that he could not write about all the villages anyway. "We do not want you to write about us," was the response. "It is enough if you come and see us."

Even in Shusha newspapers arrive by the end of the next day. In villages people see them once a week or once a month. During the last few months the programs of Shusha TV somewhat cheered up and united the villagers. The TV correspondents appear on the air with the truth about what they have seen, the truth about life in the Azerbaijani villages of the NKAO. In those places which do not have power outages people gather in big groups by the TV sets before the programs start. They watch the programs and discuss them all together.

The Azerbaijanis of the oblast today have a critical need of expedient ideological support. There is a catastrophic shortage of information. In Nagorno-Karabakh they are waiting for writers, poets, actors, journalists, and politicians. In that the Committee for Aid to Karabakh really needs help itself, the help of every citizen of Azerbaijan. But even that is not the main thing. The main thing is to find ways for reconciliation.

Azerbaijan's Law on Sovereignty Praised

*NC3011130489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 27 Nov 89*

[Text] On the republic's sovereignty and opinions and suggestions, you will now hear the views of Oktay Bayramov, chairman of the (?Ozertisy) Rayon People's Court:

[Begin Bayramov recording] While discussing the USSR Constitution, which was adopted in 1977, we said that [words indistinct]. The entire world can [word indistinct] our humanitarian approach, determination to safeguard our citizens' interests, and [words indistinct] of the free and independent union republics. However, the reconstruction process began in April 1985. This was a reformist move which, despite the fact that it was attributed to the higher echelons, began at grassroots level. This process indicated that the constitution we adopted did not bring even the most ordinary form of openness and democracy. In view of this, we began to (?discuss) a number of articles. However, we saw that this was of no use. The constitution, which was the third in 70 years, was useless. Therefore, we should adopt a new one.

The address delivered in the first Congress of USSR Deputies by Deputy Alekseyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences [words indistinct], is still fresh in

the minds of many people. He said: It is true that drawing up a legitimate constitution is necessary.

[Words indistinct] was the previous constitution not legitimate? It was, but only on paper. For example, Article 76 of the USSR Constitution says that a union republic is a sovereign state united with the other soviet socialist republics. This, however, is very strange. Even if a union republic is sovereign on paper, it has no law in that regard. Nor is it truly sovereign. With a view to closing this gap and rectify a mistake that was made in the past, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet adopted a constitutional law on Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty, a historic law which will make us appear in a very good light in the eyes of the future generations. This law has been in effect since 25 September. As a jurist, I say with full confidence that had we had such a law 10 years ago, we would not have had the incidents in Nagorno-Karabakh and extremist inclinations against Azerbaijan. Nor would we [words indistinct].

Furthermore, I believe that laws are like newborn infants. They, too, have their (?drawbacks), sicknesses, and [word indistinct]. However, our law on sovereignty is so healthy and (?strong) that this situation has caused anxiety in a number of individuals. In view of this, they wish to change some of its provisions in order to cripple it no matter what happens.

USSR People's Deputy (?Sabchakh), in a statement he recently gave to the Russian language KOMMUNIST paper in Yerevan, described our law as conflicting with the constitution. However, which constitution does he mean?

(?We reply to him by saying that) the present USSR Constitution does not confirm what he says. On the other hand, what right does he have to put forward such inconsiderate, [words indistinct], and narrow-minded views in connection with a law which has been adopted by the supreme soviet of a people on the basis of popular demand?

No one can change our law. Any attempt in that direction should be regarded not only as a move against this law but also as a political act against the people who have (?upheld) sovereignty. [end recording]

Engineers Defuse Explosives in Lachin Rayon

*NC2411121189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0440 GMT 23 Nov 89*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The residents of [name indistinct] town in Lachin Rayon, which borders Armenia, have expressed deep gratitude to the members of the Engineering Services [word indistinct] unit, which is commanded by Grigoriyev. Displaying [words indistinct] and skill, on 20 November the engineers defused a [words indistinct]

explosive, which was placed in the most [word indistinct] point of the road through the town.

A report on the matter has been published in today's newspapers.

Armenian Women's Union Goals Outlined

90US0215 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
7 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by KOMSOMOLETS Correspondent and SAZh [Union of Armenian Women] Member M. Vartanyan: "And We Will Help You"]

[Text] The "Union of Armenian Women" [SAZh]. Established about six months ago, this women's social organization is one of the subdivisions and a sort of "women's faction" of the Armenian National Movement.

A zone of disaster and refugees, ecology, public health, maternity and childhood problems, aid to invalids and the elderly, the struggle with corruption and injustice in society; problems of the quality of education and training, preservation of the native language from "social corruption" and a contribution to the artsakhskiy movement—this is still not a complete list of issues that SAZh intends to work on and is already working on. But perhaps the simple and very "worldly" words "We will help you" give the shortest and most capacious essence of this program. We will help if it is difficult, bitter, or terrible. If misfortune were hanging over you and if it turns out to be a hopeless tragedy. This is the type of social "first aid".

We met at one of the terminal stations of the Moscow Metro. A fifteen minute trip on a Moscow city bus and and we were already deep into Moscow's yellow birch forest hardly touched by autumn with its splendor of aromas, shades, and contours. We walk along a narrow path among the forest's motley grasses, pampering our over-exerted city lungs. We knock down the caps of large overgrown russula mushrooms with a pole and we talk about SAZh.

"Is it some sort of a republic women's council?"

In answer, Dzilda Khachaturovna [Garibyan] smiles and shakes her head no:

"It makes no difference that they compare the Armenian National Movement... well, let us say with any of the long official social formations, whose buildings luxuriously and proudly rise on central city streets."

Dzilda Khachaturovna Garibyan is a senior scientific associate of the Armenian SSR Minzdrav Oncological Scientific Research Center and a member of the SAZh Bureau. While answering my next question—just who leads this new women's organization—she once again smiled:

[Garibyan] Taught by the bitter social experience of the past, we decided to get along without any authoritative tendencies whatsoever. SAZh is led by a bureau of several of the most active of its members who have allocated areas of work among themselves.

And then we headed for the rehabilitation department which is subordinate to the Moscow Republic Children's Clinical Hospital. Moscow's thick emerald birch forests and small green meadows lead directly to the threshold of the rehabilitation department, the third floor of which has long since been named the Armenian floor—this is where they began receiving traumatized children from Armenia immediately after the earthquake along with their parents or relatives from the disaster zone.

I came to see the patients of this department on newspaper business: To ask them how they are living, how the recovery is going, what problems they have and to discuss this on the pages of the newspaper. Dzilda Khachaturovna came with those same questions but on SAZh business and at the cost of her next vacation.

A little more than a month has passed since our Moscow meeting and she is giving me a detailed account of what has been done at the request of the patients of the Moscow Rehabilitation Center.

A woman from Spitak and her three children who received serious injuries during the earthquake appealed to her for assistance. They are now recovering. While she was being evacuated from Armenia, she was hastily issued a R50 pension book. The woman was interested [in knowing]: How proper is this from a legal point of view? Dzilda Khachaturovna drove to Spitak immediately after her return from Moscow; she searched for the statistical administration where the earthquake victim had worked. She found out: What R50! Upon her return to Spitak, the woman will receive her entire salary for all these months, through December of this year. They wrote down the location of the family right there at the statistical administration—so that errors will not occur once again. Incidentally, a special legal group which will render legal assistance during resolution of such problems will soon begin operating within SAZh.

The little boy had a hardly noticeable limp. Yes and he walked—sort of, at a slowed rate which was not altogether in accordance with his indefatigable nature. There at the rehabilitation department, we remembered him immediately: Smiling, curious, and gregarious. It turned out that his manner of walking was not only the result of injuries after the earthquake, the boy has a congenital birth defect and he needs special treatment. SAZh activists are also concerned about him: They have already promised him a trip to a specialized sanatorium in Yevpatoriya both for him and for his parents.

Without conspiring to do so, everyone at the rehabilitation center, both patients and doctors, told us about this family (or rather, its "fragments"). An old, sick babushka and her grandson were all that were left. It turned out that there was no one left to raise the fidgety 12 year old

who had already been treated here at the rehabilitation department. What lies ahead? Send him home? But there is neither a school nor a home in their native village of Mets Parin. We promised that they would be sent to a sanatorium for now. But D. Garibyan once again is planning to take a trip: She thinks that she needs to drive to Mets Parin and see, are there are other possibilities there?

This are the matters, the trips, and the negotiations: Very specific and very important for the people who are victims. Matters which the hands (or ball-point pens) of the authorities normally do not reach—and that the victims themselves simply do not have the capability to take care of themselves. To help people with these problems (also including the distribution of housing in the disaster zone and sending children and adults for rehabilitative and orthopedic care abroad)—this is the direction of the work (already being realized!) that SAZh considers to be its very important task.

Dzhilda Khachaturovna asked me to definitely remember about yet another issue associated with the Moscow Rehabilitation Department. She discovered in a conversation with Head Doctor Ye. Nikolayeva that: There are empty beds in the department and it is ready to take several more children who need rehabilitative traumatologic care along with their parents and relatives. Naturally, people who have appealed to the rehabilitation department will not lose either their residence permit for their primary residence in Armenia nor the opportunity to receive permanent or temporary lodging. Those desiring care should address their requests to the Republic Minzdrav Medical and Prophylactic Aid Administration or directly to the hospital at this address: Ye.V. Nikolayeva, Building 1, 3rd floor, Leninskiye Gorki Sanatorium, P/O Lukino, Domodedovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, 142031.

There is something to think about if there are children in a home (according to current Leninakan standards, normally dark and not at all like traditional city housing) who have not been treated after trauma. Really, this trip is temporary, for several months, and winter is ahead of us which will multiply discomfort and difficulties a hundred times over.

Incidentally, we already discussed this rehabilitation center and its Armenian patients in detail in the September 2, 1989 issue of KOMSOMOLET. The economic blockade which has worsened the problems of construction in the disaster zone and has made the situation with housing in the earthquake areas much more complicated has prompted the need to once again turn to this topic. To remind adults with families whose children suffered severe trauma during the earthquake and who are living in particular difficulty in dark and uncomfortable temporary structures: They can be offered both skilled rehabilitative medical assistance and normal living conditions (along with the adults) at the Moscow rehabilitation center.

The "Leninakan" direction was immediately defined in the society's work from the very first days of its existence. Actually, the desire to help the victims had also become one of the reasons for establishing SAZh. And the group of activists had already driven out to the destroyed city after the first founding meeting.

It is difficult living in a tent not only with small children but even with adults. And if you are living with a newborn?! Yes, and this is not a rarity in contemporary Leninakan. I hardly need to describe the grave details of this situation—they are obvious.

When the SAZh group arrived in Leninakan and asked the local branch of the Armenian National Movement: How can we help—they were first asked to get involved with the newborn children and their mothers. They first went to a maternity hospital—and they were horrified—it was the only one in the city and was located in a completely unsuitable building, as was the women's clinic. They came from out of the blue, the local inhabitants immediately began to think of them as workers of the Leninakan Gorsovet, and their faces became familiar. And they found a solution to the problem, the former Raykom building, which had not been damaged in the earthquake, was turned into a maternity hospital.

But a problem remained—where do the mother and newborn return to? To tents?! This is the normal system: They are placed on a special list at the Gorsovet and are offered cottages when available on a priority basis (This actually takes two to three months). It is difficult to resign oneself to such a "priority" in this case. Today the situation is changing for the better: With the aid of SAZh activists, the maternity hospital succeeded in attaining an additional 50 cottages for families with newborn children. This, of course, is a drop in the bucket. But SAZh is already conducting negotiations with construction organizations on assembly of additional cottages in excess of the plan—with appropriate payment.

And still, there is work on the future. For the future of children who were orphaned by the earthquake or who were left with only one parent. All of them are living with relatives, as a rule. They are not left entirely without supervision in accordance with the ancient traditions of our people. But it is quite natural that such children need society's special care and guardianship. To establish a social guardianship institute for orphans is one more important task that SAZh is faced with today. What will it be? Let us say that a child who has lost his parents will not have one family where he will be raised but will immediately have two. He can visit at any time. It will send him a present on New Year's Day or on his birthday. Furthermore, being located in Yerevan, these families will "monitor" receipt of aid which is arriving both from abroad and from our country today for each specific child and will send the child for treatment or rest abroad.

Today there are about 800 orphans in the disaster zone (incidentally, the lists still need to be verified). For SAZh

they are 800 areas of care. At the request of the Union of Armenian Women, we are appealing to our readers: Families or individual Yerevan residents who want to become GUARDIANS for orphans from the disaster zone can write or call the editors of KOMSOMOLETS: Telephone Numbers: 52-36-72; 52-87-72; Our Address: Editors, KOMSOMOLETS Newspaper, #2, 15th floor, Ordzhonikidze Prospekt, Yerevan, 375023.

After this meeting and this conversation, Dzilda Khachaturovna could not get hold of herself for a long time. An elderly lady with a new broom, just purchased at the bazaar, was sitting next to her on the bus. She sat and bitterly lamented under her breath: How could this happen, how could we get to this stage in life where this simple tool of domestic labor could cost R4! And her indignation was so sincere and it was so obvious that the woman really counted on each kopek that Dzilda Khachaturovna could not restrain herself and asked her some questions. It turned out: Her chance fellow traveler had worked for 40 years as a machinist. She is now about 70 years old and she gets a R60 pension which is ridiculous by current standards. She lives alone. People help her, the woman said, the whole microrayon helps her by giving her unneeded clothing and shoes.

"How do you live? Maybe you need help?"

Further questions were frozen on her lips since the woman hurriedly answered:

"No, I live well. I do not need anything."

You do not need anything? Dzilda Khachaturovna says: "How painful, it was hard for me to breathe then—how can it be that a person who has worked 40 years for this society has received such a miserable handout-and-old-clothes existence in her old age as thanks?!" These feelings overflowed with indignation and Dzilda Khachaturovna really regrets that she did not get off the bus with the woman, did not accompany her to her home, and did not see how "well" she actually lives. She could not offer assistance from SAZh.

Dzilda Khachaturovna is still upset that she did not do this.

"But I remember the bus stop where she got off. I remember approximately in what direction she was walking. I must try to find her," says Dzilda Khachaturovna. "Immediately after the Spitak trip on business for our society."

I believe her: She must look for this woman. Incidentally, SAZh has several similar areas of concern and this, as it turned out, is not nearly the worst situation in which single elderly women sometimes find themselves. Almost Petrosyan, a SAZh activist and YeGU [Yerevan State University] professor found a woman in her microrayon who lived on a R35 pension. The description of her daily ration calls to mind memories of the most severe war years: She fed herself pottage from warm water, bread

and salt which is unthinkable in these times. Now this woman is being offered permanent assistance.

And SAZh activists recently managed to relieve someone of a huge burden. A blind woman, who could not succeed in getting treatment at a special clinic no matter how she tried, attempted suicide. Only this unsuccessful attempt attracted a bit of attention to her and it would have been short-lived had SAZh not found out about her. The issue of specialized assistance has already been resolved—the woman will go to a Moscow clinic for treatment.

Incidentally, it is not so easy to discover such elderly, sick people or to find out where they live and what has happened to them. Lists of such people practically do not exist anywhere. SAZh activists have asked us to tell KOMSOMOLETS' female readers: The women's organization really needs people who are ready to help in precisely this work. Those wishing to help can call the same editor's telephone numbers listed earlier in this article: SAZh does not have its own separate offices at the present time.

Yes, the problems of protecting motherhood and childhood, aid to families, and care for orphans and the elderly were of course there prior to the horrible earthquake that destroyed Armenia. Tragedy had aggravated them. But they have always existed. Therefore, all of these problems not only in the disaster zone but also in the capital and in other cities and villages of the Republic have become the main direction of SAZh's work which is practically just beginning. The Union is working in close cooperation with Maternity Fund (also recently established in Armenia) and with its leader, well-known Armenian man of letters Maro Markaryan. SAZh's ecological group and its public education and training group are actively operating. In the future, the Union plans to establish its own "telephone of trust" with an appropriate psychological service. But for now this is in the future. And today it seems to me that it is very important that the organization has appeared in our Republic and is ready to come to the aid of a young woman or an elderly person, family, or child who have ended up in a difficult, despairing, or critical situation. In SAZh's program, which about 2,000 people have already joined today, there is also a social and political direction—and what is more toward the interpretation of someone's life or fate and toward abridgment of the rights and freedoms of specific individuals. These are more effective "common" declarations.

MVD General on South Osetia Troop Pullout

*LD0112114589 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1025 GMT 1 Dec 89*

[Text] Moscow, 1 Dec, (TASS)—In connection with the situation in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast of the Georgian SSR, rumors are being spread about the transfer there of a large number of interior troops.

Answering the question of a TASS correspondent on the authenticity of these rumors, Major-General B.

Borukayev, first deputy chief of staff of the USSR MVD Interior Troops, reported that, in the main, interior troops have been withdrawn from the town of Tskhinvali, the administrative center of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, and only a small section of sub-units remains there. A thousand servicemen were sent there earlier. By their joint actions with staff of internal affairs bodies, on 23 November a clash between inhabitants of the town and members of unofficial associations coming from Tbilisi was averted. On each side there were several thousand people. The action was undertaken by the Georgian unofficial organizations in answer to the decision of the emergency session of the oblast soviet to transform the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast into an autonomous republic.

The situation in the region still remains tense and explosive and the decision to withdraw troops has given rise to dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Tskhinvali who ask that their safety be guaranteed. There are instances of shooting and there are wounded, dozens of firearms have been confiscated by troop details. Realizing the whole responsibility of the tasks which they have been given, the personnel of the interior troops are doing everything necessary to guarantee stability in the region and the safety of the local inhabitants.

South Osetia Situation 'Disquieting'

PM3011171589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[VI. Arsenyev article: "Restless Days in Tskhinvali"]

[Text] What is happening in the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]? Unfortunately, the tension has not abated. Most enterprises are idle. Kvaisi's miners are on strike. The situation is being monitored by Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] forces but this fact is arousing sharp discontent among the Osetian part of the oblast's population, who are demanding that USSR MVD internal troops be brought in. A. Logvinov, chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Maintenance of Public Order, arrived in Tskhinvali 28 November.

Our correspondent called Tskhinvali and Tbilisi and spoke with the USSR MVD Press Center. Most conflicting reports. There were 18 wounded in Tskhinvali hospitals 30 November. We obtained this detail from the oblast health service. On the other telephone line, with Tbilisi, we heard from journalists who had just returned from South Osetia that the situation outwardly looks normal and there are no clashes between the Georgian and Osetian sections of the population. The Georgian SSR MVD announced that there is great tension. This information was also confirmed at the oblast party committee. The way into the city is blocked but civilian pickets are standing alongside the militiamen.

Unfortunately, a conversation with representatives from the USSR MVD Press Center failed to clarify the situation. According to them, they have received a preliminary

report, which requires additional checks. One thing is obvious: The situation in Tskhinvali is very disquieting.

South Osetian Official Blamed for Strikes

90US0172A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
29 Oct 89 p 1

[Article by ZARYA VOSTOKA special correspondents Anatoliy Khugayev and Galina Petriashvili: "Why There Is No Dialogue Between the South Osetian Oblast Committee of the Party and the Public of the Oblast"]

[Text] "The situation is returning to normal"—these words are frequently seen in reports from South Osetia. Interviews given to newspapers by First Secretary of the South Osetian Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia Anatoliy Chekhoyev contain the same motif: The situation is complicated but it is returning to normal.

While these assurances were being offered the events developed inexorably: The September strike at the garments factory spread to other enterprises and included virtually all labor collectives; strikes of miners in Kvais began. The workers of enterprises and intellectuals expressed their lack of confidence in the leadership of the oblast. Such are the stages of "normalization."

Certain newspaper articles, including "The Opinion of Kvais Miners" published in the oblast newspaper SOVETON IRYSTON on 3 August, triggered or, more precisely, became a catalyst for these events. The material had great repercussions in the oblast and caused the indignation of primarily the miners themselves.

Tamerlan Zaseyev, member of the strike committee of the Kvais Ore Mining Administration:

"The newspaper material is slanderous. Participants in the meeting were accused of fueling ethnic enmity. It is true that criticism of the oblast leadership was voiced. However, charges of nationalism and statements to the effect that there was a call to get armed are slanderous. We wrote a letter of denial right away. It was signed by 200 people. I took it to the editorial office myself. However, it still was not published."

Editor of the newspaper SOVETON IRYSTON Teymuraz Muldarov:

"How did 'The Opinion of Kvais Miners' come about? I was summoned to the ideological department of the oblast party committee and handed the letter. They told me it was necessary to publish it. I went to the first secretary and tried to convince him that something like that cannot be published. This is a provocation, a boomerang. However, he would not even listen. Then I asked USSR People's Deputy Professor Nafi Dzhusoyty to change A. Chekhoyev's mind. The professor tried, but it didn't work. This is how 'The Opinion...' appeared in our newspaper."

By now, the episode with newspaper material which comes down from the apex of the apparatus, leaves a mark, and disappears has become a cliché. However, this episode is a mere detail, a mere stroke in the policy which the oblast committee pursues in relations with its own press organ. "The editor-in-chief is over there" joked Muldarov bitterly waving his hand in the direction of the oblast committee. Its leadership is unambiguously felt in the pages of SOVETON IRYSTON. The Kvais "Opinion," the "interview" which the first secretary of the oblast committee conducted with himself and provided to the editorial office on the condition that it be definitely published.... More such examples can be given.

This is one aspect of the "leadership." The ban on publishing other materials which has become the norm is another. "Adamon Nykhas" [People's Conversation] publishes its sheets in... Riga. All of this is happening despite the existence of the oblast newspaper which, putting it mildly, is not overburdened with information. What kind of political capital does the oblast committee acquire by entirely cutting its opponents off from the newspaper? Is this not how "indisputable truths" are born? Is this not how distorted ideas which consequently have little in common with those stated initially are affirmed? This process develops like an avalanche if the sides do not come to terms in a timely manner and clear the air publicly. There have been no such attempts in the pages of SOVETON IRYSTON.

This is a complicated issue. Has it been considered at a meeting of the oblast committee bureau? Has the bureau discussed the relationship which has emerged between the first secretary and the editor of the newspaper? At the oblast committee, they answer unambiguously: No!

The attitude of the oblast committee toward the newspaper puts many things in focus. However, certain things are outside this focus.

Anatoliy Bazzayev, mining foreman of the Ore Mining Administration, deputy chairman of the strike committee:

"On the 3d day after we went on strike underground and refused to take food, the following came to us: Chairman of the oblast executive committee, chairman of the oblast Committee for State Security, and the first secretary of the Dzhevskiy Rayon Committee of the party. Nobody came from the leadership of the oblast committee."

During these days, we managed to meet many people. The central square in Tskhinvali attracted people like a magnet. The alarm was shared by all: Outside the oblast, in the republic, the demands of strikers and statements of speakers at the meetings are interpreted incorrectly and are distorted by rumors and fabrications.

Zara Abayeva, research associate at the South Osetian Scientific and Research Institute of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Academy of Sciences, member of the coordination council of "Adamon Nykhas":

"The position taken by the Oblast Committee of the party also promotes rumors. Chekhoyev has called us nationalists on many occasions. We have given him an ultimatum: You, comrade first secretary, should either prove that we are nationalists, that is, expose us as such, or you should apologize to us. Neither has happened. We have taken him to court....

It is that kind of standoff.

This is what the party veteran, meritorious retiree of the republic Dmitriy Ualiti told us:

"In the 1930's, the brand 'nationalist' worked without fail. So, are we having a relapse? First, the label of 'nationalist' at the instigation of the leader of the oblast party organization, later—provocative rumors about burned-down Georgian schools and threats made against Georgians. Believe me, there has been nothing of this kind. If, God forbid, this were the case, if 'Adamon Nykhas' called for that I would be the first to consider its leaders my enemies. Yes, not everything in their position is indisputable. So, let us debate them, but debate openly, using arguments rather than labels."

A political dead end may only be avoided through a dialogue—this concept is supported by, perhaps, everyone.

Aleksandr Urtkmelidze, chairman of the regional chapter of the People's Front of Georgia:

"There is no reason to conceal this: The positions of the People's Front of Georgia and 'Adamon Nykhas' on a number of issues are fundamentally different. However, we should also see the things which are capable of unifying us. We cannot argue only in the offices or at meetings. The essence and details of these arguments cannot be concealed from the people. This is where we cannot do without the mass media. Meanwhile, our oblast newspapers are in mortal fear of us...."

The oblast committee restricts itself only to calls for a dialogue. Recently, they have been as numerous as assurances concerning "stabilization."

North Osetia Hosts Conference on Ethnic Issues

PM2111090189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent A. Grachev article: "Scientists Discussed"]

[Text] Ordzhonikidze, 18 Nov—Everyone is currently very worried and alarmed by ethnic conflicts. What must be done to ensure that our peoples live in peace and harmony? How can we restore the true meaning of such concepts as good-neighborliness and mutual assistance? What course must we take to ensure that linguistic barriers do not arise? The All-Union Scientific and Theoretical Conference "Improving Interethnic Relations in Conditions of Perestroika" in Ordzhonikidze was devoted to these questions.

A blunt and frank discussion took place for 3 days at the North Ossetian State University. Scientists gave an objective assessment of the legacy we have inherited in the sphere of interethnic relations and described the current state of these relations. And, most importantly, they voiced ideas, proposals, and concrete recommendations with regard to strengthening friendship between the peoples and working people's international education.

Georgian 'National Accord' Organization Launched

*PM2211123089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3*

[TASS report: "'National Accord' Association Set Up"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Nov—Helping strengthen the friendship of the peoples of Georgia, combatting those who are kindling ethnic conflicts, and knowing one's history, language, and culture better—these are the tasks the "National Accord" association, set up under the Georgian People's Front, aims to tackle. The association's inaugural meeting elected a board and adopted statutes and a manifesto appeal to all working people of Georgia, which says, in part, that the USSR's strength lies in the unity of its peoples and ethnic groups. Concern for the welfare and benefit of the republic in which one lives is a matter of conscience and honor for every Soviet person.

Georgian MVD Official on Militia Concerns

*90US0212A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
10 Nov 89 p 3*

[Article by Varlam Shaduri, Georgian first deputy minister of internal affairs: "Guarding the Interests of the People"]

[Text] The sociopolitical situation associated with the perestroika processes taking place in our country is, of course, reflected in the form and content of our professional holidays. The outworn noisy phrases and unconvincing ceremonial reports are no longer of any use.

Today, as we celebrate Soviet Militia Day, we want first and foremost to draw attention to urgent and painful issues.

It is common knowledge that recently in the operational situation in the republic there has been considerably more complexity, and that this has resulted in increased crime directed against people's lives and health. There has been a significant increase in the number of crimes against property—robbery, theft, car theft, and so forth. The fight against crime has been somewhat weakened by the negative phenomena in Abkhazia and Kvemo-Kartli. We have been forced to abandon our immediate activity and send large numbers of personnel into these regions. I do not want in any way thus to justify the shortcomings in the militia organs or attribute everything only to the emergency situations.

The operational aspect of activity has recently been better focused and we hope that thanks to the help from

the newly reformed interim committee to fight crime, the situation will become stable.

We are proposing that the ministry leadership raise in good time the question of setting up at large enterprises and in organizations and establishments, permanent auxiliary detachments to help the militia. Preventing the causes of crime should become the main direction in our activity.

Fundamental transformations and renewal of the organs of internal affairs are essential. What we have in mind is first and foremost the moral and ethical improvement of personnel, improvements in their professional training, and structural improvements in the organs. The first steps in this direction have already been taken—an administration for crime prevention and departments to fight organized crime have been formed within the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Because of the increasing numbers of the population it will be correct to set up militia subdivisions in major cities to provide more effective and immediate service for the people.

The degree to which the public in the republic is concerned about questions of maintaining and strengthening law and order can be clearly seen from the material being published in the press.

Each of us is well aware that the fight against crime is deeply social in nature and requires a comprehensive approach, the more so under conditions of glasnost and democratization.

For until recently we did not dare even acknowledge that here, too, crime is a social phenomena, and we used to explain it by the presence and manifestation of "capitalist encirclement," "harmful vestiges of the past," and "harmful traditions."

This opinion, unfortunately, has not been totally eradicated even today. Some leading workers in the internal affairs departments argue thus: "If there is no basis for it but crimes are nevertheless committed, then it is the result of my bad work," and instead of looking more deeply into each specific case of a violation of the law and taking the necessary preventive measures, they prefer to conceal crime and artificially create an atmosphere of seeming order.

Until this harmful tendency has been finally eradicated from our practical work there is no sense in talking about a serious fight against crime.

We shall soon be marking the second decade since an uncompromising struggle was declared in our republic against negative phenomena. Many bribe-takers, schemers, and pillagers of state property have been unmasked and made responsible, but we must admit candidly that this struggle has not yielded special results. The place of one criminal is taken by another because we are trying to deal with the results rather than the cause.

And the cause of these negative processes that have been gaining strength for decades is what today we call the deformation of socialism.

The devaluation of honest labor has pushed many onto the path of crime. Enormous wealth has been accumulated in the hands of a small group of people better adapted to circumstances and conditions, while for the majority it is hard even to exist. There has been social injustice and a devaluation of human values.

The party has recognized the mistakes that have been made and has urgently placed on the agenda the question of perestroika and moral and ethical renewal, thanks to which the social causes of crime will be totally eradicated, and this will promote a healthier society.

The fate not only of the peoples of our country but of the entire civilized world will depend on the successes of perestroika. Our enemies and our supporters abroad understand this, and we should be even more aware of it. We should not forget that forces do exist that use as a cover the "maintenance of stability" while they try to set the country on the path of totalitarianism, and what this threatens we already know from the bitter experience of the past and the quite recent tragedy that was played out in Tbilisi.

This is why we say that greater vigilance and foresight are essential. Step by step we must move toward our goal and not strive to outrun events, so that this kind of misfortune can never again occur. What seemed impossible yesterday has today become a reality.

The ultimate goal of the draft Concept for National Development submitted by the Georgian Communist Party for national debate, which is deemed to be the achievement of full sovereignty for the republic, is filling us with faith and hope.

Under these circumstances it is impossible for the growing crime rate, which is degrading and exhausting the nation, not to evoke bitterness. There is particular concern about the increased numbers of the murders, drug addiction, and traffic accidents that each year take many human lives.

In 1986 a total of 132 murders were committed, while in 1987 the number was 142, and in 1988 some 155, while this year there have been 172 murders. If we take into account the fact that in each murder case a death sentence is imposed, then we almost double the numbers. We cannot correct our own demographic situation if we do not entertain a solicitous attitude toward each person, the more so because crimes are being committed mainly by young people; that is, by those who must increase and strengthen the nation.

We should sound the alarm on each case of murder. Whoever raises his hand against his brother is not only a criminal and malefactor, but also a traitor to the nation. Young people who carry firearms in their pockets and

create conflict situations among their comrades are the potential murderers and traitors to the nation.

Traffic accidents have become a national tragedy. Each year they take the lives and ruin the health of hundreds of people. During the first 10 months of this year alone there have been 2,040 traffic accidents resulting in 589 deaths, while 2,417 people have been seriously maimed. The situation grows worse with every passing year.

Of course, the roads in the republic and the city streets do not satisfy even minimally the requirements stemming from the growing use of automobiles. Workers in the auto inspection services also often act incorrectly, but we have only ourselves to blame for that. According to analysis the main causes of the accidents that occur in the republic are drunk driving, exceeding the speed limit, and lack of discipline and disregard of the basic rules of traffic safety.

Why is it that the inborn instinct for care and self-consciousness are being weakened? Because of negligence, a perfunctory attitude, and lack of respect for proper order.

I believe that the fight against drug addiction is an enormous national problem that should be a purposeful, day-to-day fight, and in this fight the best of the young people should support the militia organs.

The following question is often asked: What is drug addiction, a disease or a crime? We suggest that it is both, but first and foremost a crime that becomes an untreatable infectious disease.

The older generation may be bold to say that the future of the nation is in the hands of reliable youth, but nevertheless increased crime among juveniles is evoking outrage. During the first 9 months of this year juveniles committed 381 crimes. More than 2,000 people aged below 30 have been convicted. The crimes are often of a group nature, and this gives us pause for thought.

We expected that heightened national self-awareness and the movement for the republic's independence would exert a beneficial effect on crime statistics, but unfortunately this has not been noticed yet. We believe that ultimately this will be so, but we see that we need a certain amount of time and work for this. Great help could be provided here by all the educational institutions, the People's Front, the higher and secondary schools, and the public in general. The main task for these leading forces is to get rid of the influence of the criminal world on our young people and instill in them a sense of patriotism, philanthropy, goodwill, honesty, and love of selfless labor so that young people do not end up in the dock in court. There is no doubt about the truism that prison never has and never will be a good means for correcting a person.

It seems to us to be an enormous task to involve young people in labor processes so that they may be better prepared to embark on an independent life. Here, we

cannot forget the procedure that is generally accepted and established in the countries of the West regarding the attitudes of children toward independent entrepreneurs. They start their labor life as simple workers and live only on their own incomes.

The functions of protecting rights are now exercised here by inspection commissions set up in all city and rayon ispolkoms [executive committees] and in the republic Council of Ministers. They include both deputies and representatives of the public who monitor the activity of the executive organs. We are not against the idea of setting up a committee to safeguard the rights of prisoners, but perhaps it would be better if interested organizations took part in the work of the existing commissions and reinforced their work. What I have in mind is that these commissions are not insured against particular errors.

With regard to meetings between representatives of the public and convicted persons, they do have that right. Quite fruitful work is being done in this direction. Meetings are often set up between representatives of the labor collectives and the creative intelligentsia, patronage concerts are organized, and independent circles operate, led by well-known figures in literature and the arts. Convicted persons have a full right to make use of any literature, and this promotes their moral elevation.

Unfortunately, we still encounter many shortcomings in the system of correctional institutions, but neither can it be denied that there are also positive shifts. The human factor is being given priority and the process of humanization is taking place. The Institute of Public Opinion at the Ministry of Internal Affairs is doing fruitful work in this regard.

We welcome the call to all registered and unregistered associations to support the militia and to fight all kinds of crime on a unified front and strengthen order throughout Georgia's territory. Today as at no other time what is needed is not confrontation but consolidation; this will provide an opportunity to establish firm public order in the republic and fight actively against crime and the causes of crime.

During the visit to Georgia by the USSR minister of internal affairs, V. Bakatin, many urgent issues were reviewed, in particular questions of enhancing the combativeness of the militia organs, improving their professionalism, and providing them with equipment. Much remains to be done in this direction, and we are not losing hope that in the near future we shall see positive shifts. This will all reinforce in our population the faith that the militia will staunchly safeguard their rights, lives and health, and honor and conscience, and will protect what they have gained through their labor.

In conclusion, I would like to congratulate the workers of the republic on this militia holiday, along with the personnel of the organs of internal affairs and all those who are making their contribution to the cause of strengthening law and order and socialist legality.

Georgian Party Condemns 7 Nov Disorder

90US0213A Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
10 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] A meeting of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the question of negative manifestations in certain regions of the republic on 7 November 1989.

It was observed that, despite the complex social and political situation in the republic, the celebration of the 72d anniversary of the Great October was conducted, on the whole, in an atmosphere of support on the part of the working people and the population for the policy of perestroika proclaimed by the party. Ceremonial meetings and other mass-political activities devoted to the splendid date were staged in cities, villages and labor outfits of the republic.

At the same time this day was clouded in the cities of Tbilisi and Kutaisi and certain areas of the republic by hooligan stunts and attempts to destabilize the situation and create centers of political, social and interethnic tension. Instances of vandalism, abuse of state symbols and other unlawful manifestations, which gave rise to the citizens' righteous anger, were noted.

These actions could have grown into mass disturbances and created a danger to personal safety and the life and health of many people, which demanded particular forbearance on the part of the party, soviet and law enforcement authorities to ensure that the development of events not assume an unpredictable nature fraught with grave consequences. However, in some cases the bodies safeguarding public order failed to display sufficient decisiveness for the purpose of the timely interdiction of the unlawful actions. Not all party committees and soviets of people's deputies ispolkoms [executive committees] approached with a proper sense of responsibility the implementation of the measures scheduled for 7 November 1989, for the safeguarding of public order and holiday organization included.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee emphatically condemned the unlawful actions and acts aimed at a destabilization of the situation which occurred on 7 November 1989, considering them entirely incompatible with the policy of consolidation of public forces and the establishment of a healthy constructive dialogue being pursued by the republic party organization.

A number of specific measures was mapped out and the tasks of the obkoms [oblast party committees], gorkoms [city party committees] and raykoms [rayon party committees], primary party organizations and the media were determined. It is essential while preserving forbearance and calmness to intensify the political rebuff of the unacceptable, unlawful demands which are being put

forward, consistently unite around oneself commonsensical people interested in real progress and a renewal of life based on perestroika and prevent an unchecked development of events.

Each party member must adopt an assertive, aggressive position in the struggle for the consolidation of socialist values and the prevention of all attempts at unlawful encroachment thereon.

It is recommended that the republic's soviet, trade union and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] authorities devise and implement a system of practical measures pertaining to an intensification of explanatory work with the population and in the work force and mold an atmosphere of condemnation of hooligan manifestations incompatible with the policy of a broadening of democratization, glasnost and pluralism of opinions.

Information from the law enforcement authorities to the effect that criminal proceedings have been instituted in respect of instances of unlawful actions and that an investigation is under way and that no manifestation of hooliganism, vandalism and desecration of the symbols of Soviet statehood will remain unpunished was noted.

'Spontaneity' of Kishinev Riot Questioned

PM2411155789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 89 p 4

[V. Nekrasov report: "Clash"]

[Text] I personally have not yet encountered among the informals any individuals or organizations that are prepared to take on responsibility.

The apparatchik, the order, the system—these are in everyone's view. But when you are on the other side, everything there is complex.

On one of the buildings in downtown Kishinev there is still a notice from the time of the Great Patriotic War: "Inspected; No Mines" and the signature "Lieutenant Kutepov."

On 7 November the grandchildren of those lieutenants were being stopped by people with slogans reading "No place for dirty tanks and bloody Soviet boots in Victory Square!" The military parade did not take place. A triumph of democracy? I believe that every people has sacred objects which must not be defiled, no matter what high notions are used to justify it all. Was there anyone to say: This is our slogan, this is what we think, and we speak on behalf of...? There was not. They are no one's slogans. Neither ours, nor yours. They belong to third parties. There is no responsibility.

The popular republican newspaper LITERATURA SHI ARTA described the events of 10 November in detail. How did it begin? I quote from a translation which I obtained at a Moldavian People's Front news conference: "...As early as 1600 hours someone notified the

people beside the memorial to Stephen the Great that a militiaman in a central square had injured two young people (it has been proved that it was, in fact, two offenders that were involved)." End of quote.

It is now known that the militiaman was saving a woman from armed robbers, but the prompt notifier is unknown.

Further, according to the newspaper, in response to this seven young people decided to picket the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] building.

I met two girls involved in the picket. They are Sveta Kiriak, a teacher training institute student, and Lena Kozhukhar, a medical school student. According to them, eight people were involved. Six guys and two girls. None was older than 21. This is probably the first time in this whole affair that specific persons have emerged. They were detained (according to the MVD workers' version, they were invited for a chat). Then the third force again entered the arena.

In the report prepared for the press organs by the Moldavian People's Front, a group of 30-40 passersby formed spontaneously and demanded the release of the arrested persons. Then militiamen and soldiers appeared in appropriate gear and began beating up the assembled people, chased those who ran away, stopped city transport, and charged onto trolleybuses, beating up passengers and drivers. While beating the people up the soldiers were shouting: "Take this for the 7th!" and "Take that for the Latin alphabet!"

According to this report, six to eight soldiers headed by an officer burst into a milk bar and, following orders, beat up customers and smashed tables, chairs, and other furniture.

I called at the bar and asked people who had been working that evening whether that was what happened. No, they told me—and I myself could see that the furniture was in place.

From the same People's Front report: "Between 40 and 150 people were involved in a clash with soldiers and militiamen at various times. Many hundreds, if not thousands of soldiers and militiamen with all the appropriate equipment were in the MVD building...."

I compare the figures. Precisely 218 internal troop and militia servicemen suffered, of whom 44 were hospitalized, while 77 attackers and chance passersby suffered, with 14 being hospitalized.

LITERATURA SHI ARTA cites the figure of 15,000 people who "spontaneously" found themselves outside the MVD building on that evening.

I can agree that they spontaneously built a barricade beside the drama theater building, which is closed for restoration—and there is as much handy material as you like on any construction site. It was possible to pick up rocks spontaneously on this construction site and shower

the militiamen and soldiers with them. But how is it possible spontaneously to jam the militia walkie-talkies' operational wavelength, and where did the molotov cocktails which they used to set fire to the MVD building come from? Where did the attackers get their smoke bombs? They certainly do not appear in the authorized equipment of the internal troops or the militia.

A.I. Nikolayev, USSR senior assistant general prosecutor, reported in a SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA interview that the investigative organs have carried out several searches, during which homemade handcuffs, service and militia ammunition, sharpened spikes, and so forth were confiscated.

No one claimed responsibility....

Ukrainian Parliament Approves Kiev Rayon Elections

LD2211123689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0304 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] The Ukrainian republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has satisfied the request of the Zhovtnevyi Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in Kiev to hold on its territory, by way of experiment, elections of deputies of the rayon soviet in two-seat constituencies. A temporary provision on this envisages the formation of 60 constituencies. In each of them, two deputies will be elected on an alternative basis, one from the local electors and another from the production-labor collectives of the rayon. It is envisaged that this arrangement will enable the soviet to more easily take into account the needs of citizens and more effectively manage the whole life of the rayon.

Ukrainian KGB To Increase Glasnost

PM2311131589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Nikolay Baklanov report: "To Be Made Public"]

[Text] Kiev—In the Ukraine more than 300,000 citizens illegally condemned during the years of Stalinist repressions have been rehabilitated. This was announced at a meeting with journalists and representatives of the public at the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB.

N. Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian KGB, told the meeting that a routine collegium session discussed the state of glasnost in the activities of the republic KGB and its organs and ways of further establishing it.

In particular, it has been decided to provide fuller information to working people, social organizations, and the mass media about the work of the republic KGB organs to protect the Soviet constitutional system and state secrets and combat organized crime, and other questions.

Ligachev Interviewed During Belorussian Visit

LD2611154189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Interview With CPSU Central Committee Secretary Y.K. Ligachev by correspondent P. Makritskiy during Ligachev's visit to Vitebsk Oblast [Belorussia]; time of interview not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] A meeting with the party and economic aktiv and a speech addressed to its participants have concluded today the visit of Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vitebsk Oblast. He stayed there with a group of secretaries of the oblast party committees of the union republics attending lectures at the Institute for Enhancing Qualification of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. [The group was] getting acquainted with the experience of the Vitebsk Oblast party organization in the political backing-up of the decisions of the March 1989 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Our correspondent Petr Makritskiy reports:

[Begin recording] [Makritskiy] [Passage omitted] Agrarian economic management, the revival of the rural area, the broadening of the tasks of the food program—an extensive range of problems—were discussed during the trips around the oblast. A concrete conversation involving specific subjects was also held at the meetings with inhabitants of the rural areas. After one such meeting I addressed Comrade Ligachev: Yegor Kuzmich, after you have gotten acquainted with Vitebsk Oblast, have you become more confident that the problem of processing and reduction of losses will be resolved?

[Ligachev] I acquired this confidence back at the March plenum of the party Central Committee, when we were elaborating a present-day agrarian policy. Having now visited Belorussia, Vitebsk oblast, I have become even more confident that we will resolve this task. Yes, and incidentally, there is just no other way. I am very happy that they are beginning to understand this here—understanding is already a guarantee of success. Now this can already be seen in the fact that many enterprises are being built. Equipment is being manufactured, bringing in production capacities. Industry and construction organizations are being involved. Therefore, I have full confidence that they will manage to improve the supply of food in the republic in the very near future through reducing losses in the agroindustrial complex.

[Makritskiy] You were accompanied here by secretaries of the oblast party committees. What do you think can be recommended from the Belorussian experience in socio-economic development for application in other regions?

[Ligachev] I would list several such directions. In the first place I should list questions related to the specialization and the concentration of agricultural production. For it is a way that enables one to obtain maximum output with the least expenditure of labor. At the same

time it creates an opportunity to make agricultural labor highly mechanized indeed, highly automated and one of the most attractive types of human labor. Secondly, I would say, what deserves very much attention is the active development of scientific production networks, whereby science is connected with production and through this receives great benefit. The third thing is the development by all means possible of family farms or as we describe them, personal holdings, their unification and their integration with collective and state farms. There is some very interesting experience in training cadres. In many areas, a network of so-called training combines has been set up, which gives one the opportunity to carry out the training of cadres and the raising of their qualification year-round without interruptions. Of course, joint work of industry with collective and state farms deserves every attention: An industrial enterprise provides certain material and technical and financial resources for a particular collective farm and in exchange receives from above plan produce, meat, milk, vegetables, and potatoes. Judging by the information we have received, this supports labor collectives very actively.

[Makritskiy] Is this what we have seen here in the "Dvina" agroindustrial firm?

[Ligachev] Quite right. This is, incidentally, an additional source for major material and financial resources for the development of agriculture. [end recording]

Belorussia Chernobyl Cleanup Program Published

90UN0257A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 21 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Text of "State Program for the Cleanup in the Belorussian SSR Following the Accident at the Chernobyl AES Covering the Period 1990-1995. (Main Targets, Directions, and Ways To Implement It)"]

[Text] In accordance with instructions from the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) Supreme Soviet, during the 3 months since its 9th Session, which reviewed and adopted as its basis a draft state program for the cleanup in the BSSR following the accident at the Chernobyl Atomic Power Station [AES] covering the period 1990-1995, the Council of Ministers, State Planning Committee [Gosplan] and republic ministries and departments have done considerable work on the draft of the program. Due consideration has been given to the comments and proposals offered by the Supreme Soviet commissions and deputies, and also the organizations, labor collectives, and individual citizens in in oblast, city and rayon executive committees [ispolkoms], as reflected in the resolutions put forward at numerous meetings.

The program is based on proposals from scientists, including scientists from the BSSR Academy of Sciences, and on principles (medical, social, economic, psychological) that ensure living conditions on the territory contaminated by radionuclides that are safe for human health. These are: the unconditional requirement to exclude human radiation levels that exceed the permissible level

from all radionuclides; the provision stated at the 9th Session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet on the inadvisability of people living where, giving due consideration to the set of measures already carried out, it is impossible to obtain local products suitable for use; due consideration of the socioeconomic aspects or the organization of agricultural production.

The fundamental thing in the new edition of the program is that it has acquired specificity and that items that are mere recommendations have been eliminated.

At the same time, with the work on the program, some of the measures included in it have already been carried out; this is a question first and foremost of introducing certain privileges, and of setting targets for 1990 on the basis of the program.

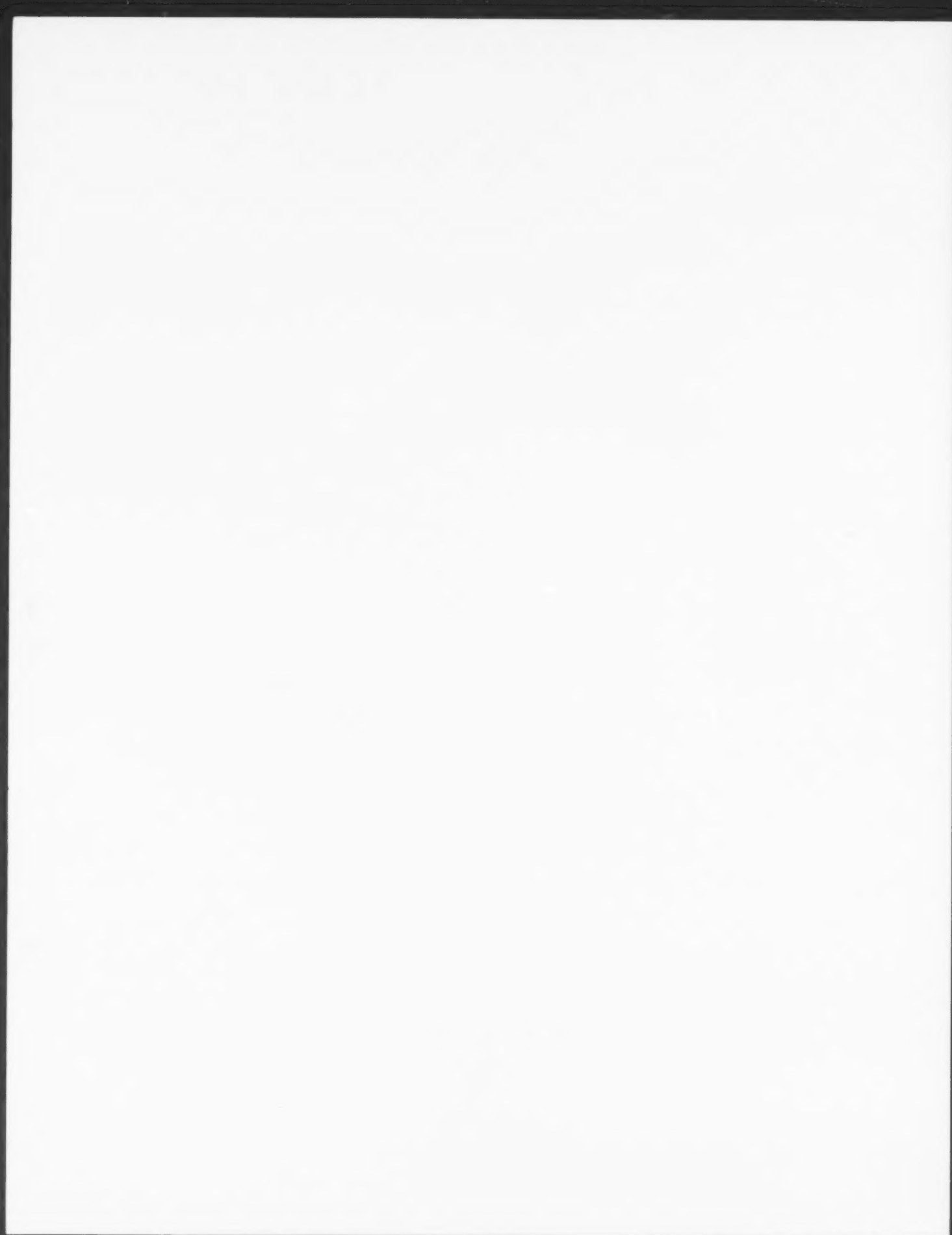
If the BSSR Supreme Soviet State Program is approved it will be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for confirmation so that it may also become the law for the all-union ministries and departments that are to execute it.

The most important aims of the program are to create conditions that are safe for human life activities in regions that have been subjected to radioactive contamination, including the possibility of obtaining agricultural products that are suitable for use without restriction, and of improving the quality of life for the populations of those regions.

The specific directions of the program to reach the targets that have been set are to insure human health by means of resettlement from populated points in which the criteria set for living safety are not being observed, and to implement large-scale measures to reduce by the maximum the dose of radioactive irradiation. This set of measures includes enhancing the level of medical services and improving the health of the population, particularly children, and drawing up and introducing recommendations to bring the technology for agricultural production and for the processing industry into line with the requirements dictated by the conditions of radioactive contamination, providing the population with clean food products, organizing at the required level scientific support with respect to problems connected with normal life activities in contaminated areas, education, cultural, municipal and everyday and transport services for the public, and improving the effectiveness of decontamination work, organizing reliable and steady information on the work done to eliminate the consequences of the accident and on the radiation situation in places where people live and work, and essential rules for behavior and economic activity.

The program provides for using the scientific and economic potential of the republic in the accident cleanup, along with skilled scientific personnel and the facilities of appropriate specialized all-union enterprises and organizations.

It is proposed to conduct scientific research in order to evaluate the effect of various factors (radiation,



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The program provides for using the scientific and economic potential of the republic in the accident cleanup, along with skilled scientific personnel and the facilities of appropriate specialized all-union enterprises and organizations.

It is proposed to conduct scientific research in order to evaluate the effect of various factors (radiation,

chemical, psychosocial, and so forth) on the health of the population living on contaminated territories, and to study water and ground ecological systems in each oblast, evaluate the physiological and biochemical and genetic consequences of radioactive contamination, and prevent and treat disease, including diseases connected with the radiation factor, and employ the instruments and equipment essential for monitoring and evaluating the radiation situation.

The program devotes a great deal of attention to resolving questions concerning the carrying on of agroindustrial production and forestry under conditions of radioactive contamination, and to working on appropriate standards and recommendations and developing the production potential in order to make up the output lost.

The program also reflects questions concerning the provision of fuel and energy for populated points located in the control zones, and it outlines measures to strengthen the production base for motor transport and communications enterprises.

During implementation of the state program financial and material resources will be clarified in step with the availability of new data and with gaining appropriate experience, and will be allocated on a priority basis to the republic by the USSR Gosplan, USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the USSR Ministry of Health, and other all-union ministries and departments.

Spending associated with implementation of the program will be done through the all-union budget.

Section I

Insuring Living Safety for the Population (Resettlement)

The program provides for the resettlement during the period 1990-1991 of the inhabitants of 112 populated points at which, giving due consideration to the comprehensive evaluation of the radiation situation for all radionuclides, the lifetime irradiation level may reach 35 REM, and also from populated points located on territory contaminated with radionuclides at a level of 40 Curies per square kilometer or higher where the introduction of public agricultural production is not recommended.

During 1991-1992 it is planned, with the agreement of the inhabitants, to resettle 62 populated points at which independent life support is not advisable because of resettlement of the the central farmsteads of farms.

The inhabitants of populated points living on the territory of the zone of permanent monitoring where it is impossible to obtain on private subsidiary plots basic food products that are suitable for use after the necessary agrotechnical, agricultural improvement and decontamination and others measures have been carried out, will

be given the right of free choice to resettle or to live in that locality and obtain appropriate compensation as laid down, or additional financial and social privileges.

When people of pensionable age or those unable to work are resettled they will be given the right to move as they wish to be with their own relatives, who will be given housing without waiting, giving due consideration to the fact that they will all be living together.

Further Reducing the Radiation Dose

Starting from 1991 it is planned to provide for the population a diet that is in line with the medical standards as laid down by the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Institute of Diets, while populated points with a contamination level of 1 Curie per square kilometer and higher will be allocated appropriate funding for food-stuffs. From 1990 children may attend preschool establishments gratis and children will be provided with food gratis in schools in accordance with 1 standards for preventive diet in the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring. And from that same year sanitation standards will be introduced for the diets of patients being treated in permanent health facilities in the oblasts subjected to radioactive contamination.

Next year a review will be conducted of the standards and periods for the issue of special clothing and uniforms for workers of all categories in contaminated zones, and also for persons whose activities are associated with working with materials contaminated by radionuclides.

Persons drafted into the Armed Forces from populated points in the BSSR located in the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring will not be permitted to do their military service in places or at installations where radioactivity is high. Servicemen and persons engaged in cleanup operations following the Chernobyl accident are guaranteed shielded living accommodations and a transfer to further service in a region of their choice. At each populated point located on contaminated territory the complex of work will be continued to make accurate predictions for obtaining clean agricultural produce, the irradiation doses received, and the state of health of the population. In 1990-1991 it is planned to carry out ecological and radiation certification of places for their ability to support life on the territories of the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring. By 1995 the base for public health and municipal and everyday services will be brought to the normativ level in populated points where the level of contamination is up to 5 Curies per square kilometer, while in populated points in the zone of permanent monitoring this will cover the entire social sphere.

In 1990 the system for radiation dose monitoring will be expanded in areas of radioactive contamination. Engineering decontamination will continue in populated points located in areas contaminated with radionuclides. In 1990 populated points earmarked for resettlement (without the provision of amenities) will be decontaminated; in 1990-1993 populated points in the zone of

permanent monitoring in which people still live will be decontaminated and full amenities will be provided; in 1990-1995 there will be selective decontamination of particular populated points in the zone of periodic monitoring according to radiation monitoring data; and during this same time all resettled populated points, and also burial sites for decontamination waste, will be secured.

Section II

Medical Services and Improving the Health of the Population. Care for Mothers and Infants. Social Security.

This section insures that by 1995 a full set of programs will be provided, including "Zdorovye" [Health], "Stomatologiya" [Dentistry], "Nemedikamentoznyye metody profilaktiki i lecheniya" (Non-Drug Methods of Prevention and Treatment), "Skoraya pomoshch" [First Aid], and "Okhrana zdorovya zhenshchin i detey, snizheniye detskoy smertnosti v BSSR" [Health Care for Mothers and Infants and Reducing Infant Mortality in the BSSR].

In 1990 residential homes will be organized on the basis of the treatment-and-prophylactic establishments in contaminated regions to provide temporary accommodation for chronic patients and for persons requiring medical care. Day wards with at least ten beds will be set up for patients in hospitals. Anesthesiology and resuscitation departments will be opened in central rayon hospitals, planning for 30 percent of the beds for children; in contaminated areas two ultrasound studies will be made of pregnant women for the purpose of prompt diagnosis of congenital defects in the developing fetus; perinatal centers will be set up in Gomel, Mogilev, and Brest on the basis of oblast birthing facilities, with diagnostic consulting rooms; easily accessible and comprehensive medical genetics consulting facilities will be organized for all families at risk for children born with congenital and inherited pathologies; a republic center will be organized on the clinical base of the Oncology Department at the Minsk Medical Institute for the comprehensive treatment of cancer and precancerous diseases of the thyroid; ultrasound diagnostic facilities and endoscopy and oncological consulting offices will be opened in Khoyninskiy, Lelchitskiy, Braginskiy, Narovlyanskiy, Yelskiy, Vetkovskiy, Dobrushskiy, Checherskiy, Komyanskiy, and Buda-Koshelevskiy rayons in Gomel Oblast, in Kostyukovichskiy, Krasnopol'skiy, Slavgorodskiy, Klimovichskiy, Cherikovskiy, and Bykhovskiy rayons in Mogilev Oblast, and Stolinskiy and Pinskiy rayons in Brest Oblast; the number of endocrinology beds for adults and children will be increased in Gomel on the base of the oblast hospital up to 80, on the base of the city hospital up to 60, and on the base of the oblast children's hospital up to 20; in Mogilev Oblast these figures will be up to 60 beds for the oblast hospital and up to 10 beds for the children's hospital; immunology laboratories based on the oblast hospitals will be opened

in Gomel, Mogilev, and Brest; and specialized outpatient facilities each with 120 beds will be organized on the base of the permanent hospitals.

Before 1991 mobile medical and diagnostic stomatological outpatient facilities (or laboratories) will be set up in contaminated regions for early diagnosis of oncological diseases. Endocrinology consulting offices will be set up at the rayon hospitals in those areas. Before 1995 bases for hematological outpatient facilities will be created and built in Gomel and Mogilev.

During 1990-1992 oblast consulting and diagnostic centers will be set up in Gomel and Mogilev, and interrayon diagnostic centers in Mozyr, Zhlobin, Khoyniki, Cherikov, Klimovichy, and Chechersk.

Starting from 1990 branches of the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of Radiation Medicine will be organized in Mogilev and Gomel and the staffs of these institutes will be increased.

Before 1991 a differentiated system will be devised to provide outpatient facilities for the populations of Brest, Gomel, and Mogilev oblasts depending on the degree of contamination of territory with radionuclides, and also for persons directly involved in the cleanup following the accident at the Chernobyl AES and its consequences in resettlement zones and the zone of permanent monitoring, and methods for the provision of outpatient facilities and standards for evaluating clinical and laboratory studies will be established. The following kinds of physicians will be included on the staffs of the central rayon hospitals: oncologists, endocrinologists, laboratory technicians, dermatologists and venereologists, pediatricians, therapists.

By 1995 there will be up to 44 medical personnel per 10,000 inhabitants in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts. Each year at least 250 graduates of medical institutes and at least 1,000 graduates of medical schools will be sent to work in those oblasts. In order to reinforce personnel well-appointed housing will be built before 1991 for all medical and pharmaceuticals specialists sent there after graduation from medical training establishments. In the future housing will be allocated for medical and pharmaceutical workers on a goal-oriented basis.

Starting from 1990 the wage conditions as laid down by normative documents will be introduced for the entire territory of Gomel and Mogilev oblasts, and also for contaminated areas in Brest and Minsk oblasts; permission will be granted to medical personnel in all categories in contaminated regions to work according to two rates of pay; military commissariats are forbidden to draft for any kind of military service or drafted work junior medical specialists sent to Gomel and Mogilev oblasts; physicians and middle-level medical personnel in Gomel, Brest, and Mogilev oblasts will be given training in radiation medicine on a stage-by-stage and priority basis; annual training will continue for students at medical institutions in the republic in the training department of Gomel University for 100 of the indigenous

inhabitants of Gomel and Mogilev oblasts; a branch of the medical institute will be opened in Gomel.

The BSSR Ministry of Health will annually be allocated 1 million convertible rubles to purchase imported instruments and reagents for endocrinology studies.

Outside the boundaries of contaminated zones it is planned to provide ongoing health maintenance for the population as follows:

—for preschool children (together with their mothers), schoolchildren, adults with chronic diseases, and pregnant women from the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring, and also for all adults from the zone of permanent monitoring: on an annual basis;—for other categories of the population from the zone of periodic monitoring: once every 2 years. The adult population not suffering from chronic diseases will be provided with health maintenance in leisure establishments (rest homes, tourist bases and so forth).

From 1990 the BSSR Ministry of Health will maintain a round-the-clock health watch in the "Boroviye" sanatorium on children who were subjected to radioactive effects, together with their parents.

Before 1995 it is planned to build two sanatorium pioneer camps, each with 500 places functioning year round, together with a 1,500-place health resort for children and their parents.

In order to provide comprehensive health maintenance measures it is planned not to permit schoolchildren and teenagers to be sent to do agricultural work on territory with a contamination level greater than 5 Curies per square kilometer; to arrange for the unfailing hospitalization of children and pregnant women from these areas in all the republic specialized departments through the central rayon hospitals; to provide before 1995 for the planning and construction in clean zones of sanatoria for children with a total of 5,100 places, and out-of-town pioneer camps with places for 60,000, and labor and leisure camps with places for 31,000; to cover all children of preschool age in zones of radioactive contamination with preschool education, and to expand the network of special groups for children who are frequently or chronically sick, and sanatoria groups in children's preschool establishments; to construction out-of-town dachas for the health maintenance of children of preschool age in clean zone sufficient to accommodate 22,000; before 1992 to adapt out-of-town permanent pioneer camps for physical culture and health maintenance work for parents and children during school vacations and on days off and holidays.

Before 1995 it is planned to build a 500-place sanatorium at the "Naroch" resort, one with 500 places at the "Rogachev" resort, and also the "Logoyskiy" and "Lesnyye ozera" rest homes, each with 250 places; it is intended to build the following outside the republic: a health resort for adults and children with accommodations for 1,500, and two sanatoria pioneer camps each

with 500 places functioning year round; and to allocate 1,200 places at resorts being built outside the republic for health maintenance for workers from zones of radioactive contamination; and to build within the republic tourist projects earmarked for health maintenance for workers and their families (1,200 places); and next year to change the purpose of the 500-place "Chenki" rest home for health maintenance for parents with children; starting from 1991 provision will be made in the "Dnepr" sanatorium now under construction for year-round health maintenance facilities for workers and their children from stricken regions in Mogilev oblast.

The USSR Gosplan will annually allocate at least R40 million for the special cleanup account for the Chernobyl accident for the purchase of imported equipment, diagnostic equipment, sets of reagents and so forth to equip newly constructed public health projects and for current users. Provision will be made for the allocation of R32.5 million of capital investments for the repair and reconstructions of existing hospitals and polyclinics.

Permission will be granted through shared participation by enterprises exporting their own output abroad to allocate 60 million convertible rubles for construction of the 1,500-place "I Maya" sanatorium at the "Nebug" resort in Tuapse rayon by the Yugoslav "Smelt" company; and for enterprises with export output, and also through cooptation of their own assets to allocate 40 million convertible rubles to build the following sanatoria and residential homes: the "Rodina" 500-place sanatorium in Sochi, a residential home with 500 places in the village of Ahse, Lazarevskiy rayon, and a 250-place residential home in Anapa, to be built by the "Sovsaderm" joint Soviet-Swiss company.

A 150-place children's sanatorium will be built at the Truskavets resort through shared participation of enterprises in Gomel Oblast and funds raised from subbotniks in 1989-1990.

Section III

Material and Financial Privileges for the Population Living in Contaminated Territories

The privileges established for those working in harmful working conditions will also be extended to the population living in the zone of permanent monitoring, as follows: the retirement age is lowered to 55 for men and 50 for women, and the length of annual vacation is extended to 30 calendar days. Additional vacation time will be given to those working in harmful conditions. The total length of vacation time shall not exceed 42 calendar days.

At populated points in the zone of periodic monitoring the length of regular vacation time will be set at 24 working days.

Additional vacation time will be granted in connection with harmful working conditions, over and above the vacation time indicated.

For the population living in the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring the following are established:

- the length of pre-birthing time off for women shall be 70 calendar days;
- the length of partially paid time off for workers to care for children shall be up to 3 years, with monthly payments of up to R70;
- one-time grants for the birth of first, second, and subsequent children shall be R100 and R200 respectively;
- grants for children in low-income families shall be R24 monthly for each child aged under 14 years when the combined family income does not exceed R75 monthly;
- full pension will be paid to working pensioners regarding of the wage (income) they may be receiving;
- differential wages will be established according to higher rates at populated that are contaminated as following:

at 5 to 15 Curies per square kilometer, 30 percent;
at 16 to 25 Curies per square kilometer, 40 percent;
at 26 to 35 Curies per square kilometer, 60 percent;
at 36 to 40 Curies per square kilometer, 80 percent;
at 41 Curies per square kilometer and higher, 100 percent.

Additions to citizens' pensions and grants will be paid using the same criteria.

From 1990 a cash payment of R30 monthly will be introduced for each family member at populated points where the use of locally produced foodstuffs is restricted. As the radiation situation changes at populated points subjected to radioactive contamination, proposals will be substantiated and submitted to the republic government on introducing or repealing higher wage rates (or salaries) and the R30 monthly cash grants for family members.

In connection with the resettlement of the inhabitants of populated points in the republic subjected to radioactive contamination, the following compensation and privileges are established:

- the cost of building (houses, orchard sheds, dachas, business premises) shall be fully compensated according to the assessment as determined by insurance documentation, taking into account sums received under the terms of state obligations and voluntary insurance;
- the following cash sums will be paid for fruit and berry plantings and sowings, and also for uninsured agricultural animals: R500 for single citizens, R1,000 for families made up of two persons, and R250 for each additional family member;
- a one-time grant will be paid to the worker himself equal to the size of his monthly salary (wage) at his old work, and a sum equal to one-fourth of the grant for each family member;
- the cost of the worker and the members of his family moving will be paid (except for cases in which an

administration offers the corresponding moving expenses);

- workers will be paid wages based on their salary (wages) at the old place of work for the days spent moving to the new location and setting up in a new home (up to 6 days);
- families that resettle from contaminated areas shall be given interest-free loans for domestic fitting out up to a ceiling of R5,000 repayable over a 15-year period dating from the date that the loan was issued.

Before 1990 the question of privileges introduced in the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring for those assigned to these zones will be reviewed.

Starting from 1990 privileges will be extended to the inhabitants of all populated points within the boundaries of farms if at some populated points on those farms higher wages and grants have been introduced because of the restricted use of foodstuffs produced locally and on private subsidiary plots.

Section IV

Agroindustrial Production and Forestry Under Conditions of Radioactive Contamination

From 1990 the introduction of plant growing and livestock farming will be halted on land with a level of contamination greater than 40 Curies per square kilometer and reforestation of that land will be started. On land with lower levels of contamination it is possible to organize experimental bases belonging to scientific research institutes in order to obtain "clean" seeds for agricultural crops.

On the basis of scientific research and practical experience of work gained in 1990 in the aftermath of the accident, the necessary changes will be introduced in the conduct of agricultural production on arable land where the level of contamination is less than 40 Curies per square kilometer, with concretization of the specific features of production by zones according to the level of contamination.

In 1990 a start will be made on shifting the specialization of agricultural land with a level of contamination of 15 to 40 Curies per square kilometer and a set of measures will be implemented (tilling the soil on ploughed land and land used for fodders, using fertilizers, lime and other materials) to exclude the production of output contaminated above permissible levels. Legumes, buckwheat and flax will be removed from crop rotations and larger areas will be sown to corn for grain, silage and green fodders, eared grain crops and perennial grasses for seed (without using post-harvest residues for fodder for dairy stock). Radical improvement or regrassing of meadows will be done on all territories contaminated with radio-cesium at levels greater than 1 Curie per square kilometer. Each year areas will be set aside for grazing cattle being privately used by citizens on grass grown on ploughed arable land or on hay, and on pasture on which

livestock produce with minimum levels of contamination is being obtained not exceeding the temporary permissible level. It is proposed to continue the application of high doses of mineral fertilizers.

Milk production will be halted in places where it is impossible to obtain "clean" output after the necessary agrotechnical, land improvement and decontamination and other measures have been carried out. Farms in these zones will be switched to rearing and fattening hogs and poultry. Top priority will be given to improving unfavorable farms in terms of tuberculosis in cattle by means of totally replacement with healthy stock.

In 1990 regional standards will be drawn up for the content of nitrates and residual amounts of pesticides in agricultural output for regions subjected to radioactive contamination, and at particular farms technology will be introduced for obtaining fruit and vegetables using biological plant protection agents and restricting the amount of nitrates in this output to a minimum.

Before the end of 1990 it is planned to provide enterprises and organizations and kolkhozes and sovkhoses with agricultural equipment and tractors with sealed cabins, and with bulldozers and mobile cranes and adequate numbers of buses to transport people, and motor transport with sealed bodies to carry produce and other equipment.

Because as a result of resettlement of inhabitants from territories contaminated with radionuclides and the withdrawal of arable land, additional demand for meat to feed the population stricken by the accident will amount to 101,000 tons, and 688,000 tons of milk, it has been proposed that the USSR Gosplan significantly reduce deliveries from the BSSR to the all-union stocks of meat products during the 13th Five-Year Plan.

Provision has been made for the republic to receive an annual budget allocation of R357 million to pay for the additional expenses that will be carried by kolkhozes and sovkhoses in order to obtain clean output on territories with a level of contamination of from 1 to 40 Curies per square kilometer.

Section V

The Organization of Trade and Public Catering, Strengthening the Material-Technical Base for the Consumer Cooperative System and State Trade, and Personal Services for the Public

Before 1994 trade areas will be made available for stores and reception points in the public catering network at populated points in the monitored zone up to established norms. Stores will be opened in all populated points that do not have a permanent trade network with a population of more than 50 persons.

In the purchase of consumer goods at wholesale fairs, and also in the distribution of market stocks at them, priority will be given to satisfying demand from the population living in stricken areas.

Interruptions will not be permitted in supplies of everyday goods and essential goods to the public. Trade and public catering in populated points in the monitored zones will be organized using only clean products.

Deliveries of foodstuffs into the trade network located in the monitored zone will be done primarily in weighed and packaged form.

In order to insure unconditional observance of the standards for rational diets for children as recommended by the USSR Ministry of Health, in orders from the trade organizations priority will be given to fresh vegetables and fruit, citrus fruit, and fruit and vegetables for children's diets in preschool establishments, general education schools, and vocational and technical schools.

The opening of dining halls in all sovkhoses and kolkhozes located in monitored zones will be completed before 1991.

The network providing personal services at populated points in monitored zones and at resettlement sites will be brought up to a level that insures the provision of personal services in accordance with the rational use standards.

The comprehensive planning, construction and commissioning of capacities for dry cleaning and laundry, and of domestic facilities and service units will be insured.

Comprehensive enterprises will be equipped to handle clothing and linen, and there will be clothing decontamination stations and dosimetric control facilities.

Section VI

Provision of Fuel and Energy at Populated Points Located in the Zone of Strict Monitoring, the Development of Transport, Highways and Communications The following will be built and commissioned:

—a mainline gas pipeline from Smolensk to Uzhgorod, passing through the territory of rayons in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts contaminated with radionuclides, and gas pipelines to cities and populated points before 1995.

Before 1995 gas networks, electricity power transmission lines and transformer substations, and production projects earmarked for contaminated zones will be built and commissioned; the Gomel No 2 Heat and Electric Power Station will be expanded and the new state regional electric power station will be built in the Belorussian SSR;

—a scheme will be devised to provide heat to cities and populated points in contaminated areas by the end of 1990.

Before 1995 work will be done to build general-purpose highways and roads for kolkhozes and sovkhoses on contaminated territories (including the provision of proper amenities for rural populated points and the

construction of city bypass systems); television and radio projects, automatic telephone lines, communications cables, and regional communications centers and communications departments will be built, expanded, and reconstructed; river ports will be built to insure deliveries of non-ore construction materials for construction organizations in Gomel and Brest oblasts; a system will be set up to exercise effective control over emissions of nitrogen oxides and soot from diesel engine exhausts into the environment.

Section VII

Scientific Support for Problems Concerning the Normal Life Activities of the Population in Regions Subjected to Radioactive Contamination

Before 1992 a comprehensive evaluation will be made of the radiation, chemical, social and other environmental factors and their proportional contribution to people's state of health, taking into account Soviet and world experience. On this basis a proposal will be submitted to the republic government on the most rational use of resources in order to create as favorable an environment as possible and improve people's health prolong their life expectancy. The radiation situation will be clarified annually on the territory of the BSSR, including populated points in the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring, to determine the content of cesium 135, strontium 90, plutonium 239 and plutonium 240, and a map will be produced showing the radiation situation, records, predictions, and recommendations; the dynamics of radioactive contamination of the soil; and the presence of and patterns in migration of radioactive isotopes in typical natural and anthropogenic landscapes in contaminated territory in the Belorussian SSR.

A determination will be made of the distribution, content, composition, physical and chemical properties and migration of "hot" particles in various types of soil and in the atmosphere and water systems on contaminated territory. A map of the distribution of "hot" particles will be compiled before 1995.

A determination will be made of the dynamics of changes in the radiation condition of underground water in the BSSR and recommendations will be drawn up for preventing their contamination.

The dynamics of the accumulation of radionuclides by plants will be clarified. Plant-discriminators of radionuclides will be matched in order to develop grass mixes. A study will be made of the behavior of radionuclides in the "soil-plant" system and methods devised for lowering the entry of radionuclides into plants, and recommendations will be made on the rational use of plant resources.

Scientific baselines will be established for the conduct of forestry under conditions of radioactive contamination. A study will be made of the distribution of radionuclides according to the elements in the forest biogeocenosis and an evaluation made of the dynamics of contamination of

forestry products. A determination will be made of the effect of radioactive contamination on seed reproduction for the main forest-forming stock. Methods will be devised to deal with insect pests in forests contaminated with radionuclides.

Systematic observation of the status of radioactive contamination will be organized for animals and water and ground ecological systems, and of possible ecological effects.

Before 1995 an evaluation will be made of the ecological consequences of radioactive contamination and concomitant factors. Over the 5-year period a system will be devised and introduced to evaluate the state of health of the population on territory contaminated with radionuclides, and to determine safe living and working conditions, and to develop methods to diagnose, prevent, and treat diseases and clarify the effect of low radiation doses and their combined effect on the body.

Long-term predictions will be made of the irradiation of the population.

The formation of radiation doses will be permanently monitored.

A set of sanitation-and-hygiene regulations will be drawn up to insure radiation safety for the population and substantiate the possibility of long-term residence of the population on contaminated territories.

An evaluation will be made of the chronic, combined effect of doses of radiation and of chemical and other factors on the incidence of disease among the population in monitored areas of the BSSR. Methods will be devised for evaluating the degree of radiation and chemical effects on the human body and human tissue, and preventive and rehabilitation methods will be applied.

The functional status of the nervous, cardiovascular, and digestive systems of the body will be clarified, along with the processes of adaptation in persons living on contaminated territories of the BSSR. Models will be developed for outpatient care, along with methods for the diagnosis, correction and prevention of disorders found.

A study will be made of the epidemiology of cardiac asthenic disease, arterial hypertension and heart rhythm disorders, especially for secondary prevention in persons subjected to the effects of radiation.

A determination will be made of the immune status of children living in the monitored zone and in the zone of strict monitoring in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts.

The status of the immune system will be permanently monitored.

Studies will be conducted of complication in pregnancy and birth, and of prenatal infant mortality among women subjected to the effects of radiation.

A study will be made of the cytogenetic and genetic-biochemical aspects in children and the status of the genetic apparatus in persons subjected to the effects of radiation.

A comprehensive epidemiological evaluation will be made of the incidence of malignant neoplasms, and ways will be determined to prevent oncological disease among the population.

A determination will be made of the course of diseases of the upper respiratory tract and of skin diseases among the population living in zones of the BSSR contaminated with radionuclides. Methods will be devised to treat and prevent the disorders found.

A system will be developed to monitor disabilities and the reasons for them, giving due consideration to the ecological status of regions of the BSSR, and recommendations will be drawn to prevent disabilities among the population living under conditions of a higher background radiation.

Hygiene requirements will be established for organizing the regime for the day, studies, and work and leisure for children and juveniles in children's preschool establishments, schools, and vocational and technical schools in monitored regions of the BSSR.

An evaluation will be made of the immediate and long-term consequences of the acute and chronic effect of low doses of radiation on the most important bodily systems with the aim of devising methods of post-radiation recovery.

A study will be made of "hot particles" in human and animal respiratory organs, and studies of their radiobiological effects will be conducted.

Research will be done on the biological effects of the combined action of ionizing radiation and other harmful factors on the body for the purpose of predicting immediate and long-term consequences.

A study will be made of sociopsychological and legal features of populations living on contaminated territories.

Special technologies and methods will be developed for carrying on agriculture in zones of radioactive contamination, and a system of farming for zones of radioactive contamination, and a system for treating and decontaminating soils so as to insure a lower accumulation of radioactive substances in the harvest.

A manual will be compiled for truck gardening and horticulture, and methods treating the soil for radical improvement of hayland and pastureland, along with technological methods for harvesting and processing the main kinds of agricultural crops.

Agricultural equipment will be developed and manufactured for work under conditions of radioactive contamination.

A special system will be devised for carrying on livestock farming in zones of radioactive contamination.

Methods will be devised to decontaminate and treat raw materials contaminated with radionuclides and to recover buried radioactive waste.

Technology and equipment will be developed and introduced under industrial conditions for removing radionuclides from meat and milk.

The BSSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services together with Belorussian State Committee for Hydrometeorology and oblispolkoms will from next year a special service to maintain and service radioactive waste burial installations.

Section VIII

Organization of National Education and Cultural Services for the Population in Contaminated Zones

Universal education in matters of radiation safety will be introduced for the republic population through special programs. Provision will be made in schools, vocational and technical schools, secondary specialized schools and VUZes, and in faculties and higher institutes for a course in radiological protection.

Before 1995 training halls, general physical training halls, and physical culture and health maintenance complexes will be set up in every school, vocational and technical school and preschool establishment and provided with appropriate equipment.

Priority will be given to providing medical personnel, teachers, and personnel to work in the sphere of culture and other institutions and organizations of social importance, giving due consideration to the needs of the rays located in the zone of radioactive contamination.

Provision will be made in vocational and technical training establishments and in production for training for work personnel in the mass occupations for enterprises, establishments, and organizations located in the zone of radioactive contamination, giving due consideration to all their requirements.

In order to reduce personnel turnover and improve the establishment of graduates from higher, secondary specialized and vocational and technical schools in regions located in the zone of radioactive contamination, the necessary living and everyday conditions and material conditions for their residence will be created.

Noncompetitive enrollment in higher and secondary specialized training establishments and in the training departments of VUZ's will be extended for graduates for schools located in contaminated areas.

Sanatoria with places for 200, and five sanatoria-rest homes with 570 places will be planned and built for the

Gomel and Mogilev teacher advanced training institutes, the Gomel Polytechnical Institute and the Mogilev Technology Institute.

Sanatorium forest schools with preschool departments for 1,130 places for year-round health maintenance for children, and permanent pioneer camps of the sanatorium type for summer health maintenance for children and teenagers living in zones of radiation contamination will be designed and built.

Theater and concerts centers will be opened on the base of the rayon houses of culture in stricken areas, and will be equipped with the necessary musical instruments, and plans will be made to give concerts, out-of-town shows, and performances by amateur drama collectives.

Section IX

Development of the Construction Industry and the Construction Materials Industry. Material-Technical Support.

Provision will be made for the commissioning of capacities to produce 400,000 tons of cement, 1,285 million bricks, walling mats, 5,000 cubic meters of crushed rock, 826,000 cubic meters of prefabricated reinforced concrete and other materials and articles, making maximum use of advanced Soviet and foreign experience in technical decisions, including resource-saving and energy-saving technologies.

Together with the all-union organs, appropriate ministries and departments will fully satisfy demand for material-technical resources and machines and equipment for carrying out work to build projects in the social sphere and the material-technical base for kolkhozes and sovkhozes and enterprises and other projects, and also what is needed to carry out the entire set of work associated with the cleanup following the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

Section X

Organization of Monitoring of the Radiation Situation, the Status of the Environment, and the Level of Contamination in Agricultural Output

The radiation situation will be clarified each year on the territory of the BSSR, including populated points in the zones of permanent and periodic monitoring, with respect to contamination with cesium 137, strontium 90, plutonium 239 and plutonium 240, and maps of the radiation situation will be compiled along with reports, predictions and recommendations.

Plans for long-term comprehensive sanitation and hygiene, socioeconomic, and agricultural measures for the planned improvement of the radiation situation will be drawn up for each populated point in zones of contamination.

There will be permanent monitoring of the level of irradiation in the population in zones of contamination,

paying special attention to children and to person employed in agricultural production.

By early 1990 a special sanitation regulation will have been drawn up for carrying out work on withdrawn and resettled territories (including the Poleskiy radiation-ecological reserve), and for additional measures to intensify monitoring of maintenance for water and sewage facilities and the planned sanitation purity of populated points.

Starting from 1990 the use of toxic chemicals will be banned in agriculture. The use of aircraft in the treatment of agricultural land and forestry plantations will be banned. The collection, removal and utilization of solid domestic waste will be organized at populated points in accordance with sanitation rules, and radiation monitoring services will be developed and their effective work insured in forestry facilities, and they will be provided with appropriate apparatus and equipment. Additional studies will be organized in forest areas in order to clarify zones of radiation contamination in forests. Permanent radiometric monitoring of timber and food and fodder products marketed to consumers will be organized in all oblasts of the republic.

Section XI

An Information System for Enterprises, Organizations, and Establishments and for the Republic's Population on the Ecological Situation and on Matters Concerning the Cleanup Following the Accident at the Chernobyl AES

An automated data bank will be set up, containing current information on the ecological situation in the republic and on measures devised for the cleanup following the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

An information press center will be set up under the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute of Radiation Medicine jointly with the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Radiobiology for the purpose of providing the public with information about the radiation situation in the republic.

Booklets, brochures and posters will be published for the public on matters pertaining to the ecology and to medicine under conditions made complicated as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

Explanatory work will be activated on matters pertaining to radiation medicine and measures to insure maximum health maintenance in the population living in observed regions, using the periodical press and radio and television for this.

The periodic publication of maps showing radionuclides contamination in particular oblasts and rayons and specific farms will be organized.

The number of broadcasting hours for Gomel and Mogilev television will be extended.

Figures will be published regularly on radiation levels on republic territory, the levels of contamination on arable land and in agricultural produce, the course of and results from completion of work to decontaminate populated points, and of land improvement work and agrochemical work, and figures on population doses, the results of outpatient work, and the incidence of disease among the republic's population.

Information stands will be organized in oblast and rayon centers and at all populated points located on contaminated territories to provide information on the radiation situation, and the results of radiometric measurements of agricultural produce produced on kolkhozes and sovkhoses and on citizens' private subsidiary plots, and the state of health among the population.

The program also contains sections on insuring the maintenance of public order, fire and highway safety in monitored areas, and monitoring implementation of the program.

Latvian Party Bureau Fears Split Over Aims

LD3011172489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Riga. 30 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondent Valeri Zaytsev reports:

The Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party of Latvia has adopted a decision on the need to hold a discussion about the status of the Communist Party of this Baltic republic. It has also been decided to organize working groups for the creation of a draft charter and program of the Communist Party of Latvia (up until now the communist parties of the union republics have been guided by common fundamental documents of the union republics of the CPSU and at the beginning of January 1990 to convene a Central Committee plenum at which the composition of the Central Committee will be renewed and changes will be made in the Central Committee apparatus. It was self-critically acknowledged that the Central Committee Bureau is losing the initiative and is not lending practical assistance to primary organizations.

A subject of trenchant discussion at the sitting, which finished late on Wednesday evening, was the appeal of 39 communists, including of 8 members of the Republican Central Committee, in which they come out in favor of renouncing the "utopian aims of building a communist society, and the dogmatic treatment of Marxism-Leninism". The document says that the Communist Party of Latvia should become a politically, organizationally, and economically independent party and be a component part of the political system of a parliamentary Latvian state, while rejecting the constitutionally guaranteed monopoly of power.

Such a view of the renewal of the party evoked trenchant criticism on the part of many of the first secretaries of the rayon and oblast party committees who took part in

the bureau meeting. Many party organizations of the republic regard the appeal of the 39 communists as a call for a split in the Communist Party of Latvia.

Time will tell if their fears are confirmed.

Chernobyl Veterans Group Formed in Latvia

LD2711133689 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] An organization of Chernobyl veterans has started work in Latvia. Those from Latvia who participated in the after effects of Chernobyl catastrophe have founded a society of their own here in Riga. This is one of the first out of many now springing up in different parts of the Soviet Union. There are around 5,000 people in Latvia who had either volunteered or been called up to work in the catastrophe zone.

They have come together, not because of sheer nostalgia, but to help themselves. Around (?1,500) of them are now suffering from effects of radiation—there have been lethal cases as well—so the organization will have to lobby their case with the authorities. The government health and social protection organizations are not doing enough of what they should, consider Chernobyl veterans.

Procession Pays Homage to Nazi Genocide Victims

LD2611172589 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Riga November 26 TASS—A memorial procession was held in the capital of Latvia, a Soviet Baltic republic, today in homage to the memory of tens of thousands Jews executed by Nazis in Riga in 1941-1944.

The procession in which people of different nationalities took part went through the streets of the former ghetto and then by the "Road of the doomed" to a forest near Riga, the place of executions.

Flowers were placed at common graves, and a meeting was held.

The meeting was opened by Andris Barkans, the deputy mayor of Riga.

"Treasuring the memory of women, children, old people, whose lives were taken, we condemn any forms of racism and discrimination on the basis of nationality," he said. [passage omitted]

Medvedev To Continue 'Dialogue' in Vilnius

LD3011181389 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Today Vadim Medvedev, a Politburo member and secretary for ideology of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Vilnius. At the airport he was met by the Politburo members of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Vadim Medvedev, a 60-year-old politician, made his first visit to Lithuania 5 years ago in his capacity as head of the Central Committee department. [Word indistinct] he will participate in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. [passage omitted] Upon arrival in Vilnius Vadim Medvedev said in an interview to Lithuanian Television that his visit is a continuation of the dialogue started at the Politburo meeting in Moscow 2 weeks ago. He described the dialogue as interesting and constructive.

Speaks on Party Affairs

LD0112000489 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Vadim Medvedev, secretary for ideology of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, arrived yesterday in Vilnius. Today he visited the Scientific and Industrial Association (?Venta) of Vilnius and made a speech there.

Mr Medvedev said that Lithuania was in the vanguard of perestroika in some fields. However, he added, some processes underway here give rise to anxiety.

Tomorrow Mr Medvedev is going to take part in a plenary meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. According to him, the aim of the visit to Lithuania was the discussion of internal party affairs. General problems concerning the present situation in Lithuania and ways of solving them will also be discussed tomorrow.

Mr Medvedev said that he regarded this visit as a continuation of the talks that took place in Moscow recently between members of the ruling Politburo and the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The forthcoming extraordinary plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party is of great concern to the party bosses from Moscow, as most of the Lithuanian Communists have expressed a wish to set up an independent Communist Party of Lithuania.

Vadim Medvedev has warned of any false steps that might be taken at the forthcoming party congress of Lithuania. Our union should be able to develop as a multinational state on the principles of equality of all the people, he added. The Soviet Communist Party is going to hold its 28th congress in the autumn of next year, and all the internal problems of the party are going to be discussed and solved then. The aim of setting up an independent Communist Party of Lithuania should be regarded as an action of distrust aimed against the process of perestroika, said Vadim Medvedev, secretary for ideology of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, visiting Lithuania at present.

Polish National Movement in Lithuania Described

LD0711095989 Vilnius in English to North America
2300 GMT 5 Nov 89

[From the "Mailbag" program]

[Excerpts] The first question that we tackle today comes from Mr Bruce Burgess, who lives in Great Britain. He'd like us to tell him more about the latest developments in the Lithuanian regions where the Polish national movement took root.

Well, I think that the status quo has been preserved. In other words, no essential changes seem likely to take place in the foreseeable future. [passage omitted]

Of late the excitement and heated debates on the issue of the Polish autonomy seem to have died down. A recent rally organized by the pro-autonomists in Salininkai, a township in the Vilnius region, was a total flop. The claims put forth by the pro-autonomists seemed to fall flat on the locals' ears. The funniest thing was that in the recent rally in Salininkai it was not the local Poles who spoke out for the necessity to create a Polish autonomous region in Lithuania, but the top local officials—or, as most people call them, bureaucrats who discredited themselves completely in Brezhnev's era. Quite naturally, their past activities were the target of fierce verbal attacks from that part of local people who wanted to concentrate on this aspect much more than on the issue of Polish autonomy. [passage omitted]

Incidentally, there is another point I'd like to clarify. The ideologists of the pro-autonomous groups are in most cases not local Poles. The greater majority of them are migrants from Belorussia. It's probably these people that one of the speakers at the rally in Salininkai warned against. She said that one must take care when dealing with a person who was born in Belorussia, finished their Russian school, lives in Lithuania and considers himself a true Pole. This message was undoubtedly addressed to the party leadership of the Vilnius region.

Another interesting fact is that the idea of a Polish autonomy in Lithuania has not been warmly welcomed by all Poles, as it is sometimes claimed. For example, the headmaster of the Salininkai secondary school who also took the platform in the recent rally, stated that he personally disapproved of the ideas generated by the pro-autonomists, the more so that some promising changes had taken place at his school. All subjects at school were now being taught in Polish for those willing. Everybody seemed to be happy with this idea and there were no ground for any tensions or misunderstandings.

And in the Salcininkai region, which is the home of the largest Polish community in Lithuania, there is a Polish society and many other clubs. True, their activities sometimes go to the extremes. For example, the Polish community did not seek official permission to put up a monument in honor of the Polish Army, Polska Krajowa, which, incidentally, is to blame for the death of a large number of Lithuanians who did not acknowledge

Poland's annexation of the Vilnius region in the years ranging from 1920 to 1939. Undoubtedly, similar manifestations cannot in any way contribute to the normal coexistence of both the Lithuanian and Polish communities. Although I must admit that no serious conflicts have ever emerged between these two communities, I suppose that minor misunderstandings, quarrels, or squabbles, which occur between people for personal reasons, bad mood and so on, should not be escalated to artificial dimensions and considered a manifestation of interethnic tensions.

Estonian Court Upholds Draft Dodger Sentence

PM211160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
16 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Reprint of ETA report from MOLODEZH ESTONII under the rubric "In the Eye of the Press": "In Accordance with the Law"]

[Text] The refusal by draftee E. Luyk from Pylvaskiy Rayon to do army service has prompted a big public response. The people's court has passed sentence. But what does the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Court think about this? This question is answered by Ya. Kirikal, chairman of the Supreme Court:

"On 12 October the Estonian SSR Supreme Court Legal Collegium for Criminal Cases examined the appeal brought by lawyer A. Frosh, counsel for the defense for E. Luyk, against the sentence passed by the Pylvaskiy Rayon People's Court 11 September 1989 whereby E. Luyk was given a suspended sentence of 18 months' imprisonment plus compulsory labor for evading the draft for active military service.

"The legal collegium upheld the court sentence without change. Under Article 61 of the Estonian SSR Constitution, service by Estonian SSR citizens in the USSR Armed Forces is a constitutional duty. No exceptions are made on religious or ideological grounds."

Gidaspov Addresses Leningrad Party Meeting

LD2211033889 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Report by correspondent S. Dukhavin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The Leningrad party organization program of action for deepening perestroika in today's conditions has been examined at a joint plenum of the Leningrad oblast and city party committees.

[S. Dukhavin] The draft of this program was published back in mid-September. It has been extensively discussed for 2 months in party organizations and labor collectives and on the mass media. Through common efforts the initial document was enriched by more than 20,000 additions and comments. This is the result of the active participation of communists and nonparty people

in working up a joint plan of action for the immediate future. Comrade Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, made a speech at the plenum. In particular, he said:

[Begin Gidaspov recording] It is time to test our point of reference. It is time for we communists to thoroughly get to the bottom of what is going on in our own party house, as they say. If we do not do that today, then tomorrow it will be much more complicated to do. People are awaiting precise political evaluations—today's, and especially tomorrow's. Any audience will ask us, the staff of the oblast and city committees, the same questions. What has perestroika given the ordinary working person? What more is there to wait for? And finally, what is the party today—a discussion group, or for all that, a real political force? Is it capable of preventing society from slipping back into the abyss of chaos? For the moment they are still asking us those questions. If we do not find answers to them, from the grassroots party organizations to the Central Committee, and if they are not backed up by specific actions, an actual revival program of the motherland, then tomorrow they will already be asking those questions of other political forces. [end recording]

[Dukhavin] The concern for the fate of perestroika permeated many of the speeches of those taking part in the plenum. The need for continuity between word and deed was particularly stressed. [passage omitted]

Denies Opposing Central Committee

PM3011094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "Meeting at 'Kirovskiy Zavod'"]

[Text] Leningrad, 28 Nov—Representatives of working people from the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association expressed support for the Leningrad party organization's platform at a meeting, held here today, with V.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast and City CPSU Committees. Addressing those present, V.V. Gidaspov described the present stage of perestroika as a highly complex one in the life of the country and the party, a stage demanding of communists and nonparty persons self-discipline, discipline, and a high level of responsibility for the future of the planned transformations in society. The platform adopted by the joint plenum sets consolidation as the aim of all healthy forces and is designed to serve as a basis for practical action aimed at economic recovery on socialist principles, the accelerated solution of social questions in the working people's interests, and a deepening of democracy in internal party life.

The speaker described as an out-and-out provocation the attempts to interpret the stance of Leningrad's Communists as being in opposition to the CPSU Central Committee. Split and dissension in the party ranks, he emphasized, are of interest to those who have no interest

in perestroika's success. This is why, when complaining about central organs, Leningraders must pay special attention to their own shortcomings and must be quicker to untangle the tight knots of problems when that is within their powers.

"Block Off Disorder and Sloppiness in Leningrad," "Strikes Are a Blow Against Our Common Interests"—these were the slogans which dominated the meeting. The keynote in the speeches by workers and engineers was the demand: The local authorities and the party organization must show more concern for their city, display more initiative in imposing order there, and be stricter when it comes to consolidating legality and firmer in the struggle against crime and dealers in the black economy. There is no need to await instructions from above in order to overcome negative phenomena, participants in the meeting said: It is necessary to act!

Urges 'Grassroots' Reform

PM2911102589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 23 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with B.V. Gidasov, first secretary of Leningrad city and oblast party committees, by A. Molokov: "Getting It Right"—date, place of interview not given, first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[TEXT] As reported earlier, a joint plenum of the Leningrad CPSU oblast and city committees was held 21 November. It discussed and approved the Leningrad party organization's platform in current conditions. A decision was also adopted to combine the posts of oblast and city party committee [obkom and gorkom] first secretary. B.V. Gidasov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, was elected to this post. The plenum submitted a proposal to the CPSU Central Committee to hold an expanded plenum of the party Central Committee prior to the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies to discuss the situation within the CPSU.

Our correspondent met with Boris Veniaminovich and asked him to answer a few questions.

[Molokov] Recently, the focus of the political struggle in the country has again shifted to the economy. It has become obvious that, unless economic problems are resolved, the political reform cannot be implemented. The path proposed by leading economists and academicians is criticized by the people and is unpopular. The situation is deteriorating. Today people are openly speaking of a crisis. What, in your opinion, are the causes of the situation whereby in 5 years of perestroika it has proved impossible to control the processes under way, above all in the economy.

[Gidasov] Let's face the truth squarely. It is true that critical is the word to define the state of society. The situation in the economy has deteriorated, especially of late. For instance, industrial output in the region over the past 10 months rose less than 2 percent, while the

increase in the population's monetary incomes has exceeded 15 percent. Labor productivity is falling, output quality is deteriorating, and production discipline is slack. Even essential goods are featuring in the category of goods in short supply.

All this leads to an intensification of the socioeconomic differentiation in society on the one hand and, on the other, is engendering in people a lack of faith in perestroika and a fear for the future. And no matter how keen and critical the debates in our Supreme Soviet are, no matter what original alternatives are proposed, they are incapable of changing a great deal radically and swiftly. Our faith in an organizational magic wand—all we have to do is to adopt a package of laws, carry out reorganization, and the good life will be ours—may prove yet another delusion. In many spheres of life, we have reached a point where there is no alternative and what is needed is resolute, energetic, and coordinated effort.

It is precisely the inconsistency, contradictoriness, and lack of thought in the measures being adopted that are destroying us, that are heightening the crisis. The long years of rule by administrative methods of management have led to the disappearance of an elite stratum of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia capable of working creatively, with initiative and purpose. The habit of receiving ready-made decisions and instructions (I am constantly encountering this at all levels—from shop foreman to plant director, from rayon committee [raykom] secretary to senior Central Committee officials) is one of the main causes of the situation in which we find ourselves.

There is a lot of democracy and glasnost in our country today, but there is no order or organization and that, in my opinion, is the second main cause. I am firmly convinced that the process of democratization is possible only when it does not run counter to the reinforcement of order. Otherwise, the slide toward chaos cannot be halted.

[Molokov] In our effort to improve the economy, we have pinned many great hopes on economic accountability. It is regarded as the lever which will make it possible to achieve acceleration and abundance. However, having tried economic accountability, we have also tasted disappointment: It has turned out that it is contradictory and leads to divisions in both labor collectives and regions. Knowing you as a champion of economic independence, I would like to hear your answer to the following question: What needs to be done to ensure that economic accountability works entirely for the benefit of socialism, for the benefit of man?

[Gidasov] Even when I was working as a science-and-production association director, I drew the attention of both labor collectives and specialists to the fact that economic accountability is no manna from heaven, that it is necessary very carefully to plan every step, every stage in the transition to economic accountability. It is

possible, of course, for divisions and stratification to occur, and contradictions may arise between workers, and even between shops, plants, and regions—this is something we have to go through, overcoming direct confrontation. Confrontation is already in evidence: Group egoism is eroding the economy. The opinion predominating among labor collective leaders is that the main thing is to remove curbs on income growth. They have found the most direct route—putting up output prices. Consumers are already complaining in this context. Frankly, is it possible to regard as normal a situation where the bulk of light industry enterprise profit is made as a result of increased output of "N" [new] index goods and "DTs" (goods sold at contract prices)? Frequently, these indices are no guarantee of improved quality. Hence, the paradoxical situation where enterprises and organizations are fulfilling and overfilling the set plans, drawing financial benefit from this, while the general state of the economy is not improving.

Economic accountability is meant to teach us how we should work, it is meant to show up people capable of working creatively and prepared to work, and work hard. Therefore economic accountability, as I see it, is not an end in itself but only a means to an end.

[Molokov] Boris Veniaminovich, aren't you afraid that economic accountability, especially in the forms in which it is now being implemented, could lead to a capitalization of the economy?

[Gidaspov] Naturally, the introduction of market relationship elements into socialism could be interpreted to some extent as a capitalization of the economy. However, the essence rather than the terminology is what matters. To be specific, I favor retaining state planning in the most important sectors. Not everything can be switched to market relations, and not everywhere can we put ourselves entirely in the hands of economic accountability, so to speak. This applies, for instance, to the development of communications, transport, the defense industry.... These require centralized leadership, and state regulation is indispensable in these spheres.

However, at the same time, hypercentralization in planning the work of hairdressing salons, canteens, sewing workshops, and such like leads precisely to that lack of flexibility in our economy which seems to conspire against people. I believe that the switch to the aforementioned market regulation in the sphere of consumption is a natural development.

[Molokov] The current political and economic situation demands special circumspection and responsibility in making assessments and expressing views. How, in your opinion, does the activity of the city and oblast party organizations fit in with this?

[Gidaspov] We have to realize that the party, having initiated the transformations and defined the general spheres of their development, has itself gotten stuck at the start. Having roused people out of the trenches of

stagnation, it failed to provide them with a truly precise and clear perspective, to become the spearhead which it should have been.

The many years of application of the administrative system of management left a bigger mark on the party than on society as a whole because the party is a more disciplined detachment. Therefore, the main thing which we must seek now is to awaken initiative in grassroots party organizations. If we achieve the desired effect, then we will be able to claim that the development of the party and society is synchronous and that they are developing in the right ratio. However, the main thing is to ensure that the party has its own clear line. Otherwise, we will not be able to restore its prestige or enhance its political role.

Unquestionably, the processes in the party are also accelerating now. However, their development is not uniform. In some places there are spillovers and eddies, in some places the current is speeding up, while elsewhere there are backwaters covered with duckweed. A great deal depends here on the social composition of the party organizations, the prestige of their formal leaders, and the presence in them of informal leaders and their ability to lead a collective from the front. And that includes leadership against the current of society's routine development. It is necessary to be ready for this kind of phenomenon too, and not to be afraid of it.

It is a different matter that a certain section of communists, and that includes the top echelon of the party leadership, are content to watch from the sidelines as socialist ideals are deliberately eroded, as people are duped with fairytales about "people's capitalism," unlimited democracy, and nonparty glasnost. I believe that to stay silent in the present situation is immoral, to say the least. However, on the other hand, turning the party into some kind of debating club is also political hypocrisy. The time has come to move on from ruminating on our social ills to seeking constructive ways of overcoming them.

Therefore, I believe that the most important task in our party work now is to ensure that each individual communist and rank-and-file member of the party does not feel like a cog in some great party machine. It is important for him to see that his viewpoint, his opinion is taken into account and that he himself can influence the elaboration of major party or state decisions. In this lies the meaning of the party's democratization. Direct elections of secretaries, regular accounts by higher party organs to lower-level organizations, the disposal of the party budget in conditions of glasnost, and so forth—these are already components of a mechanism which must be made to function smoothly.

[Molokov] Certain social groups keep on talking about a multiparty system and political pluralism. Frequently opinions claiming that, without opposition political structures, the CPSU can neither develop itself nor

ensure the development of society are used as an argument. What is your attitude to these claims?

[Gidaspov] The social structure of our party reflects the present state of society. Different forces operate within it, including forces which criticize incorrect methods and decisions; they are free to express their viewpoints. Everything depends on how democratic the party organization is, to what extent criticism within it is accepted in a businesslike fashion, and how constructive the response to it is. If we are steering a course toward the democratization of the party, our objective should be the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the rectification of mistakes right at the point where decisions are adopted.

Today, at the present complex and contradictory stage of economic building and the development of interethnic relations, I can see no other real force which could be described, even approximately, as a party or which could be fully entrusted with running the country and fully guaranteeing the vital security of every citizen and the fulfillment of social programs. So that all the talk about an alternative to the CPSU is nothing but hot air.

[Molokov] In this context the following question arises. I am referring to the party minority problem. There is a lot of talk about this now. However, often it is taken to mean the right to obstruct the practical implementation of decisions adopted by the majority. Doesn't this amount to an infringement of party unity in practical terms?

[Gidaspov] Whatever the case, the principle of democratic centralism—its Leninist interpretation, that is—must apply here. What do I mean by this? A debate is necessary in order to adopt decisions. Personally, I cannot imagine the adoption of decisions without alternative viewpoints, sharp clashes, and a serious exchange of opinions. It is precisely in such disputes in the process of reaching decisions that truth is born. Subsequently, when a given viewpoint has been adopted by the majority, it must become the basis for action. At the same time, this does not prevent a minority, as a dialectical component of the party, from having its own ideas, conducting its own quest, and presenting its stance, which, perhaps, in time will be adopted by the majority. Therefore, debate is necessary at the stage of elaborating decisions; it ensures a minority's right to express and elaborate its viewpoint with the aim of winning over the majority. After all, ultimately, as history has shown, the majority always triumphs. And it will do so on this occasion too.

I am categorically against a "hardline" attitude, although some people are trying very hard to ascribe it to me. However, the Leningraders' mood at the moment indicates that people are tired of irresponsibility and indiscipline. The slackening of discipline in our party is also becoming patently obvious. This crisis cannot be overcome by exhortation and persuasion alone. I am convinced that centralism is simply indispensable at the

current stage of development in the country and the party. However, it must be based on the mutual responsibility of higher and subordinate party organs. If a decision is not implemented because it is ill-conceived or the result of project mania, then party liability for this must be accepted by the party committee in question, right up to the Central Committee. If a specific organization or a specific communist is to blame for the nonfulfillment, then it is they who must be made strictly accountable.

[Molokov] You are saying all the time that you are willing to cooperate with all the movements which share the socialist thrust of perestroika and favor the renewal of socialism. However, before uniting, it is probably necessary to dissociate ourselves from those who are professing the principles of a different social system. How can this be done, in your opinion?

[Gidaspov] The process of dissociation is, in general, also a natural process which is under way here, and it is not even necessary to encourage it artificially, because it is under way both in society and the party. Many people are worried because party admissions and resignations are virtually balanced. Personally, I view this calmly: Some people's nerves are not strong enough, some really do disagree with the principles of perestroika, and some people's party membership is indeed fortuitous. Such people are leaving. And the party is probably no worse off as a result.

However, there are also people who are sincerely committed to the party, who are pained by its blunders, and who cannot understand its current inconsistent actions. And these people account for almost 20 percent of the resignations. This means that they are not finding support in their primary organizations and are failing to obtain clear and precise answers to their questions. We must and will fight for these people.

We are against a purge of the party—that is a forcible mechanism. We favor communists' self-determination, not in the sense of not being bound by program and statute stipulations, because that would be fatal for the party as a political force. Self-determination must mean the right to freely resign from the CPSU without any consequences for a person's social standing. Ultimately, everyone should have to say on whose side he or she stands.

Our attitude to members of the unofficial movements which have cropped up in the country is also linked with this question. There is a multitude of such unsponsored associations and their political spectrum is simply vast, ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left. It is true though that an objective natural law is at work here too. There are groups which are gradually cutting themselves off. These are above all exotic groupings such as the anarchosyndicalists, the "Friends of Father Makhno," and suchlike. The notorious "Democratic Union," for all its noisy propaganda, is cutting itself off

from other social currents. The situation is more complex when it comes to formations of the People's Front type.

If you closely analyze the program documents of the LNF [as published], you will not find it difficult to detect many similarities with the party's perestroika platform. I believe that it is this circumstance which attracts to its ranks many people who are sincerely concerned at the slow pace, inconsistency, and half-heartedness of the measures which are to ensure the practical implementation of the ideas of the renewal of socialism.

However, there is also another point which must not be missed. For certain LNF leaders their official declarations are nothing but a screen behind which they are trying to hide their true face and their true objectives—the dismantling of socialism and the capitalization of society.

Today, on the eve of the elections, the "left-wing radicals," which is what they sometimes also call themselves, are staging a massed onslaught on the voter, hoping thus to push their way to power. They are trying to frighten the population with an impending destabilization of the situation and other political cataclysms, allegedly planned by the apparatus or the partocracy—to use their terminology.

I will say with utmost emphasis that this is a brazen provocation.

The point is something else. Are there any forces today which need destabilization? Who stands to gain from this? Historical parallels and the experience of party struggle are very explicit on this subject: A deteriorating situation, a weakening authority, and chaos favor forces which seek to make financial or political capital by any available means. It is no secret to anyone that the turnover of the "shadow" economy in the USSR is estimated at hundreds of billions of rubles, and, according to some statistics, 5% of savings account holders account for 80% of savings. In these conditions, it is not difficult to work out who would be the owners of factories and plants, of newspapers and banks in the event of the denationalization of the economy and the legalization of private ownership. In order to dispel any lingering doubts, suffice it to cite the slogans carried 7 November in the column of the so-called "democratic forces" along with the banners of various hues: "Down with Soviet monopolism!," "Party, give us a chance at the helm!," "Down with partocracy!" and finally, with the utmost candor: "Let's knock out communism with perestroika!" Comment, I think, is superfluous.

Yes, we are prepared to cooperate with all movements, but let those who reject the offered hand not claim that the people's interests are their main concern. Logically, sooner or later we will reach a point where those who are incapable of constructively tackling the problems confronting our society will be forced to eat their words and disband.

People's Control Chief Kolbin Visits Leningrad

LD131115889 Leningrad Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Kolbin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, has had a 2-day stay in Leningrad. A conversation took place with Gidasov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee. He also visited the Bolshevik Works Association; and today he had a meeting in the Smolny with the aktiv of the people's controllers of the city and oblast.

Addressing those assembled, the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee noted the topical nature of the task set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th Party Conference: to create an integral system of control which corresponds to the Leninist traditions of the workers' and peasants' inspectorate. Over the past 2 years, Comrade Kolbin said, people's control bodies and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations have conducted a wide experiment on the formation and activity of unified control bodies at more than 1,500 enterprises and associations in the regions. This has made it possible to unite the strength of more principled and competent people, who are capable of conducting qualified, exacting control work in new conditions of management.

Present at the meeting were (Ulyanov) deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet; Avdeyev, deputy chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet; Meleshchenko, chairman of the Oblast People's Control Committee; and (Lyudin), chairman of the City People's Control Committee.

(Valentin Boldenko), our correspondent, was present at the meeting with Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin:

[Boldenko] Evidence of the importance of the visit to our city of the country's first controller is the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev asked to speak to him on the direct line during a break in the session. I had the opportunity to record a short conversation with Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kolbin on this matter:

[Begin recording] [Kolbin] The main concern which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed was his concern for an improvement in the activity of rail transportation and other forms of transportation, from the point of view of organizing transportation and food supplies and improving food supplies. And this task was set; not to shy away from strictness in measures to ensure an improvement in trade—meaning through improving freight transportation.

[Boldenko] Does this also apply to Leningrad?

[Kolbin] It does apply to Leningrad concerning the need to adopt measures, we informed those assembled, the aktiv of the people's control bodies, outright; especially as there are grounds here for complaints against the Leningrad subunits of the railways and the sea port.

[Boldenko] And are we talking here about strict punishment with regard to managers who do not run transportation in a guaranteed manner?

[Koblin] Quite right. But the main thing is to solve the task. In other words, of course it would be good to cope without punishment; but where a person deserves it, we intend to take the strictest measures to rule out slackness. We have an understanding with our country's procurator-general that, upon a presentation by people's control bodies, procuracy staff locally will take measures to initiate proceedings, including criminal ones, connected with unjustified slackness in this department. [end recording]

[Boldenko] In the course of the meeting, the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee paid particular attention to improving interaction with party, trade union, and law-enforcement bodies during checks and also stressed the need to conduct a reassessment of staff employees of the committees in connection with the planned review of their salary.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 27 Nov

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[TASS report: "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A regular session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 27 November. It examined questions concerning the holding of the 12th Session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, and approved proposals on the agenda and order of business.

It discussed the question of the completion of the work of the Budget and Planning Commission and other standing commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the preliminary examination of the draft RSFSR State Economic and Social Development Plan for 1990 and the draft RSFSR State Budget for 1990, and the report on the execution of the 1988 budget. A report was delivered on the commissions' behalf by I.M. Cherepanov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Budget and Planning Commission.

It was noted that the deputies' preliminary discussion of the draft budget and plan at sessions of the permanent commissions had been more trenchant than ever before. In their initial drafts the plan calculations and budgetary appropriations lacked a social dimension, and many plan indicators were not balanced by material and technical resources.

It is planned that the social tasks will be solved by developing the material base of the social sphere, by providing a better supply of food to the consumer market, and by stepping up environmental protection. Considerable financial resources will be channeled into tackling food, housing, and other acute social problems.

However, the session pointed out that the financial, material, and technical backup for the plan tasks had been mustered with great strain. In fact, the plan's future now lies in the hands of labor collectives and soviet and economic management organs, which have a most serious test of their maturity in store next year.

The Presidium session examined the question of submitting for RSFSR Supreme Soviet ratification RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees adopted in the period between the 11th and 12th sessions of the republic's supreme organ of state power.

The session also examined certain other questions concerning the Russian Federation's state life.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Meets 29 Nov

Leningrad Party Views Outlined

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[Speech delivered by Deputy A. Fateyev (Proletarskiy Electoral Okrug, Leningrad) at 29 November morning sitting of 12th Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Session in Great Kremlin Palace: "It Is for Us To Resolve the Problems That Have Arisen"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The growing social tension is undermining faith in the current reforms. The main reason for this, as in many other cases, is, in my view, haste and lack of thought in the adoption of decisions on questions of economic reform. It is now clear, in effect, that the task set by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum of going into the 13th 5-Year Plan with a well-oiled economic mechanism will not be resolved.

All this, taken together—not an improvement, as was expected, but a substantial decline in living standards for badly off families, organized crime that has grown up against the background of economic difficulties, and, most important, the lack of confidence in tomorrow—gives rise to concern, anxiety, especially among the working class, and a natural desire to find out what is really going on.

These feelings are skillfully exploited by political forces that have an interest in the destabilization of the situation and operate on the principle: The worse things are, the better. It is they who spur on the strike committees and incite conflicts on national grounds, during which much blood has flowed. Using the entire arsenal of tactics, from shameless distortion of historical facts to intimidation based on the negative images of today's administrators and bureaucratic apparatchiks, they strike the main blow against the Communist Party, which cements the foundations of our society.

Of course, we fully support the party Central Committee's concern for preserving peace and international security. The Soviet people have a vital interest in this, since it is a necessary condition of economic and political reforms. We recognize the urgent need to build a common European home. But today many ordinary people cannot understand why we are tolerating attempts to destroy our own home—the USSR. When, in a nationalist fever, people try to pull it apart into various "sovereign" corners. When some people are not averse to diverting our party itself—the main guarantor of internationalism—from the path of unity onto the dubious road of federalism.

Today literally everything is blamed on the party—the initiator of perestroika. They try to convince the people that it is the party bureaucrats, and nobody else, who are the main opponents of renewal, who are retarding the reforms. And it is no accident that the pseudorevolutionaries set their sights particularly on a fundamental question of the country's present and future—the question of ownership. After all, that is a question of power!

Who, today, has an interest in a turn toward a private ownership footing, including private ownership of the means of production? First and foremost the "shadow economy" dealers who have gotten rich. And doubtless some of the cooperative members will not remain aloof—those who have substantially increased their capital by exploiting the weakness of legislation on the cooperative movement. Let me cite a few figures in this connection. In the first 9 months of this year the banks issued some R700 million in cash to the cooperatives of Leningrad and the oblast (some 70 percent went on wages for cooperative members), and only 44 million was received in return. Here there can be no question of wage leveling, or, indeed, of equality either. For instance, there is a cooperative in Leningrad called "Mig," whose board members receive wages of R9,000 a month each. The wages of those who work under labor agreements—in other words, the hired workers—amount to only 4 percent of the board members' remuneration. What is this, if not an unusual form of exploitation! I want to make myself clear. We are not against the cooperative movement. Cooperatives are needed. But we cannot go along with such "civilized"—in quotemarks—cooperative members.

We can and must prove in word and deed the realism of our plans and social transformations, the rebirth of Russia's culture, spirituality, and greatness. We must demonstrate and uphold our position, our socialist choice. It is immoral to remain silent today!

The Leningrad party organization has formulated a platform in present-day conditions and expressed its attitude to the crisis that has struck our society.

I read with great interest M.S. Gorbachev's article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroika," where he answered the question: Where are we going? What is the meaning and significance of perestroika? And I believe

that an analysis of the concrete situation will help us to formulate measures to stabilize the situation in the country. We advocate the convening of a CPSU Central Committee plenum—even before the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies—to discuss and evaluate the existing situation in society and in the party.

The Leningrad party organization sees it as its task today to step up organizational and political work in the localities, boost labor and performance discipline, and strengthen law and order everywhere. In the period of preparations for the elections to republican and local soviets of people's deputies, we will seek to consolidate all constructively minded democratic forces.

We are fully aware that no one but us will resolve our problems. Only the conscientious labor of every one of us will make it possible to go forward along the path of socialist transformations and to advance perestroika, and the Leningraders are ready for that work!

Deputy Hits Perestroika 'Theorists'

PM3011125089 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
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[Speech by Deputy A. Kalinin (Krasnosulinskiy Electoral Okrug, Rostov Oblast) at 29 November morning sitting of 12th Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Session in the Great Kremlin Palace: "We Reaffirm Our Loyalty to Our Choice"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The present Supreme Soviet, in the final months of its work, finds itself with the task of reaffirming again and again, through new national economic plans and through active participation in the elections to local organs of power on a democratic basis, Russia's unreserved loyalty to its socialist choice, and using all its authority to prevent the Union of sovereign republics from falling apart at the seams.

The self-styled theorists of perestroika are multiplying and reproducing themselves with mind-boggling rapidity before our very eyes, holding forth on the screen and in the press about the logical need to develop a mechanism for republics to secede from the Soviet Union, as if it was something self-evident and inevitable. You would expect the ground to open up and those who cemented this alliance with their blood and their lives to rise up and look at us with uncomprehending eyes. "What are you doing to our beloved, proud, and cherished Motherland?"—they would ask us. But the self-styled theorists of restructuring and rejiggering have already calculated, either on their fingers or on computers, that before developing this mechanism the Soviet people should, in the first instance, acquire at least five parties, instead of the single solitary one created by Lenin. Straightening their ties in front of exotic foreign mirrors and making a show of independence, these theorists turn the Party's self-criticism against the Party itself, accusing it of having totally used up, in 70 years of soviet power, the credit that the people granted to it on trust, and seeking

to trade those 70 sad and glorious years for an equal number of varieties of sausages seen in the windows of exotic foreign delicatessens. You would expect to see the ground heave, the graves burst open, and 2 million Communists rise up to pay these bills that the so-called theorists present to them.

But the silver-tongued oracles and wielders of golden pens metamorphose so quickly that you cannot keep up with them. Only yesterday they were extolling as progressive the idea of an arithmetic majority at creative congresses and plenums, but today they are branding as aggressive the majority at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which did not yield to their diktat. The myth of the ignorant working class and the even more benighted kolkhoz [collective farm] and sovkhoz [state farm] peasantry who are patently not up to the task of resolving the most important tasks of perestroika in society, has appeared and is being propagated. And these same silver-tongued orators hurry to declare themselves impassioned defenders of the intelligentsia, which, according to them, is being trampled underfoot by those workers and peasants who have failed to achieve statesmanlike wisdom over these 70 years. How about that!

They scrimped and saved for 70 years to give their children an education, open up the door to real science for them, and give them access to the assets of the culture of our country and of all mankind, they spent everything they had on raising and nurturing for the country millions of teachers, engineers, agronomists, doctors, and scientists, and then they turned around and trampled them underfoot. Yet another late 20th Century metamorphosis! But this "ignorant" working class, with the strike fever provoked by indifference and bureaucracy at its height, suddenly turns its back on these silver-tongued orators and their "liaison officers" who seek to turn them against the party and sow enmity between people. And the "benighted" kolkhoz and sovkhoz peasantry can find nothing of any use to it, nothing but malice in their ecstatically smoldering eyes, and thus refuses the uninvited services. [passage omitted]

And then the widely televised, widely published silver-tongued orators and wielders of golden pens turned their attention to the army. We shuddered, insulted and angered, to hear the cries from the overheated squares: "Occupiers, go home!" Never before in the entire history of soviet power had we heard our proud and glorious army so abused. What does this mean? And furthermore, the slander against the Army was accompanied by conjectures on the threat of a military coup. And in that case, perhaps the leadership of the party and country should preempt it by means of a return to authoritarianism. The "great democrats" began to hunger for a firm and autocratic hand. Ultrametamorphosis! And to make the leadership more compliant, they started saying—in the spirit of glasnost, of course—that a law on the party should be put on the agenda without delay, having first called into question the Party's vanguard role in our society. And then they had to ask themselves, first and foremost, what would Russia's attitude be to this—

Russia, the cradle of the October Revolution, which its friends and enemies still call the Russian Revolution, by tradition, to this day. We ourselves, we Russians, regard it as multinational. That same Russia which, as the focal point of the material and spiritual assets of our socialist state, has always, with its characteristic and generally acknowledged generosity, shared them with its neighbors and friends in the multilingual Union, and continues to share them. [passage omitted]

As always when there is a whiff of profit in the air, the criminal world has begun to stir. Thugs and rapists drag our wives and daughters into the bushes in broad daylight, yet our own militia, before going for their guns, are forced to double check—maybe their own handcuffs will end up clicking into place around their wrists, or maybe a state order will be pinned to their bullet-riddled chests. Thoroughly modern nouveau riche are emerging from the stagnant marshes of the so-called shadow economy and spreading across the country. Drops of blood falling from the swirling clouds above the Motherland are once again turning into the inconsolable tears of mothers, widows, and orphans. Not only generations of fathers and children, but whole peoples are turning on one another. The long-awaited glasnost, turning into unrestrained verbosity, becomes faithlessness and cruelty in a young heart that is not yet protected by experience of life.

Meanwhile the silver-tongued theorists and wielders of golden pens continue to call for the further squandering of our unity. From the fragmentation of the people's soul and conscience into hundreds and even thousands of formal and informal splinters, to the total and irreversible disintegration of our entire Union of sovereign republics. And why, indeed, is Russia endlessly obliged to allow its own sovereignty, its own independence to be dependent on cut-throats infected with the germs of nationalism, armed with sawed-off shotguns, and girded about with safety fuses, who block the arteries by which Russia, parting with its very last resources, hastens to share them with its brothers in the Union who have suffered disasters? All the peoples living in our Motherland have the same color blood. Only those who sow enmity between them, dividing the great socialist power into parts, have blood that is black.

As for the sausages, at the sight of which not only our long-suffering women or weak-willed poets, but even economic leaders and politicians hardened in earlier battles to increase meat production in our own land, on finding themselves abroad by way of a cultural exchange, fall down in a faint and fly into a passion—well, you can understand them, after all. Only, perhaps they should—if only from a sense of pride—avoid revealing their feelings in such an excessively emotional form. (Applause) There are still people among us who remember well how the world's acknowledged masters of the production of all kinds of sausages and the customary accompaniment, beer, decided to demonstrate this art of theirs in our land, in order to secure the right to teach us their lessons for all time. For some reason, nowadays,

when the words of those who are keenly observing our perestroika and who say that they are witnessing the collapse of socialism penetrate as far as my village on the Don. I am reminded of the rapturous cries of those master sausage-makers with their binoculars trained on the Kremlin towers in the winter of 1941. Let bygones be bygones. And now we are willing, with open hearts, to learn their art from these truly world-renowned masters of sausage-making and much else besides, having decided firmly, unreservedly, and forever to live in good neighborhood and friendship with them. Let them come to us, we have no secrets from them. Only I hope they will not, after all, be able to see the ruins of socialism here.

Because socialism is a lofty and pure idea that, despite all the distortions and what we call deformations, lives in the heart of every one of our people, even if it may sometimes seem to someone who has grown up under our system that this idea has nothing to do with him. No, it is in his blood. And it cannot be destroyed. It can and should be endowed with its original Leninist content and be made irresistibly attractive, humane, and common to all mankind, not in words, but in practice—which is what our perestroika is doing. But it cannot be destroyed or killed. It too—this socialist idea—has already become an asset of all mankind. Can it not claim the credit for saving mankind from the fascist yoke? [passage omitted]

Strike Situation in Vorkuta Assessed

904F0032C Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 21 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by L. Brusin: "Lessons of the Strike"]

[Text] Vorkuta: The strike is winding down. As of 1000 Monday [20 November] 9 out of 13 mines had resumed work. On Sunday a conference of strike committees of mines was held. The conference was stormy. Some called for a strike "to the victorious end." Others said that people are tired; the city strike committee does not go to the mines, does not inform the people...

In considering what has happened we should recognize one peculiarity of the events in Vorkuta: It is difficult for strikers on the one hand, and management organs of all echelons from the bottom up on the other hand, to break through the barriers of the mutual lack of understanding. Everybody's nerves are on end; very frequently the sides see a kind of malicious intent in each other's actions, and unfortunately believe their suspicion as if it were a fact. Thus, some people think that the miners are practicing irresponsible blackmail—and at a time of difficulty for the economy at that—simply put, bullying the country, taking advantage of their position as providers of energy. However, if you look deeper, a different picture emerges—we are having to make up for all the years of flouting the elementary needs of toilers. However, the workers for their part are convinced that the government supposedly prompted them to strike (this was said at the meeting in the Kremlin). Indeed, when you are at the

mine, you become convinced first-hand that, from here, the events appear exactly this way if you are not aware of all the circumstances.

The underlying cause of the Vorkuta events is found in the so-called northern bonuses. They come to 80 percent of the wages of the miners, and qualifying for them takes 5 years. This money is fair, considering the very difficult environment in which people work underground. However, to date the following procedure has been in effect: If a miner switches from one enterprise to another, he completely loses his northern bonuses and is forced to qualify for them again. Considering the damage to their health, this is physically impossible for many miners.

The drama is found in the fact that this procedure has become a "serfdom" of sorts. This notion is commonly used here on a daily basis. It is used both in the mines and the offices of high-up managers. The device of deprivation of "the northern money" kept tremendous labor collectives for decades in a far more obedient state than at "the mainland." It must be said that it has had a corrupting influence on those whose responsibility it is to provide vital necessities for the people. A kind of exploitation of the silence of workers developed. How long could it last?

This is where the dam burst. We should understand correctly the psychological condition of the miners: A detachment of the working class which is the most organized, the most proletarian in the complete meaning of this word, almost devoid of the lumpen element, unaffected by the "petty pilferer" disease (there is nothing to pilfer at the mine) becomes indignant all at once with all the years of injustice for individuals which has assumed comprehensive and refined forms in the mines, rather than expressing protest against some financial benefits which have been infringed upon. In our country of socialism, we have managed to hurt painfully the interests of the workers of this region. Hence, a measure of their unity; hence the helplessness of local economic, party, and trade union organs.

This is the underlying cause. Delays in the deadlines for fulfilling the agreements signed in July were the pretext for the second strike. N.I. Ryzhkov has now explained that at the time, the decision was made hastily, a number of points could not be fulfilled, not only within 10 days but even during a 5-year plan. At the end of October, before there was a conversation with the miners as frank as that on 17 November in the Kremlin, the emotional condition in the mining community was at a peak: Why is the resolution not being executed? This is how the strike broke out.

We need to recognize that due to objective circumstances, the actions of miners at this time may be understood from a purely psychological point of view, but cannot be justified in view of the damage to the country caused by the strike.

We should appreciate the self-restraint of our government which opted for a difficult dialogue with the miners

at this moment. Perhaps a direct TV link "Supreme Soviet-Vorkuta" would have also been feasible.

A very unhealthy situation developed in the city in conjunction with the Law on the Consideration of Collective Labor Disputes. Apparently everything had to be done in order to help tens of thousands of miners to overcome it with a minimum of moral damage because, I repeat, the indignation of the miners in this case is justified, unlike their actions. I believe that the good will for finding mutually acceptable solutions had to be shown, all the more so because the mood in the working-class community—to this I am testifying—was in favor of a dialogue with the government and also with the populace against which the miners turned out to be set.

This is where not enough flexibility was shown. The workers say unanimously: It would have been entirely sufficient to clearly assign realistic deadlines and specific executors in the resolution and subsequently inform the collectives on a regular basis about which of the executors were punished for failing to complete assignments and how. The miners want to know that games are not being played with them, and that the intentions of the government are serious. Vladislav Glod, Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] organizer at Zapolyarnaya mine, said: "The main point is to make the people believe that it will be fulfilled."

Unfortunately, despite repeated appeals by the administration of the association to government organs, there was no such frank dialogue in the course of which comrades from Moscow would not think that going directly to the mines and work details is too much to ask. After all, the strike could have been extinguished within half a day—this was confirmed to me by everyone, from rank-and-file workers to the managers of the association. To be sure, there was one visit from the ministry, but on that occasion no conversation in confidence took place.

This is the only way to make decisions—during an on-site visit! Otherwise, the same line may be interpreted by the sides in opposite ways. Fortunately, by now a decision on canceling the procedure with the revocation of "northern moneys" when one switches jobs has been made but (!) provided this transfer is accomplished within 3 weeks. Is it fair? Yes... if you look at it from Moscow. In Vorkuta they are concerned: After all, under the circumstances, 3 weeks barely suffice for passing a medical commission examination. What if a malicious administrator uses artificial delays in order to continue the practice of reprisals against the disobedient ones?

Briefly about the political demands of miners. Perhaps, this is more in the sphere of talk. These demands were not made in the working-class communities. A majority of the strike leaders as well do not support them.

"To the strike committee. The Makeyevka strike committee has fought and continues to fight vigorously for solutions to the issues of an economic nature. As of today, there is not a point in the protocol which would warrant using a weapon as mighty as a strike.

"At this stage, it is not worthwhile to exaggerate the role of workers' committees in an issue as serious as the political restructuring of the country. [Signed] Chairman of the strike committee Alekseyenko."

The visit by Tikhonov and Tarasov evokes reflections. One would think that the leadership of any social organization should definitely consult its organization (at least at a plenum level) before steps are taken which are politically colored.

Let us say that at present, cooperative members do not have it easy: The legislation is unstable, and there are arbitrary bans. Hence the pronounced loyalty of many oblast unions of cooperatives to local authorities: They are afraid of any incorrectly interpreted step. How will the visit to Vorkuta by the two leaders, which was not "authorized" by the union, affect cooperatives? After all, a great part of the community has understood unambiguously that the platform of the Interregional Group of Deputies has turned out to be the rallying point for all cooperatives. Is this so? Of course not!

Perhaps, the position of the party organs "impressed" me the most. As I was flying there, I thought: Their time has come; perhaps all of them to a man have gone out "to the ice of Kronshtadt." Nothing of the kind. A decisive conference of the strike committees on whether to end the strike was in progress, and not a person from the city committee spoke. This happened in my presence: In the morning, they called the dispatcher of the association to find out what the situation was at individual mines. The female dispatcher exploded: You should call the mines rather than us here, and you should go there in person rather than call. When I talked to the miners it turned out that they asked me rather than the other way around: I was compelled to do the explaining "for all of Soviet power." The people are hungry for information, and it looks like nobody has had a decent conversation with them. I asked the mine directors at their meeting: Why don't you hold a secret vote: Is the collective in favor of the strike or against? They told me the strike committees would not let them. What are the party committees doing? There is no answer.

The internal stagnation of lower-level management structures is the result of the difficult situation which caused the strike. It is also responsible for the vacuum in terms of elementary common sense and elementary management at the time the spontaneous strike movement unfolded. Electric engine driver Pavel Tsiganok told me: "Nobody was prepared for the strikes here."

I think that this main factor of instability will keep us under the gun for a long time to come, despite the fulfillment of Resolution 608 by the government.

Only comprehensive progress in the life of this miners' city through local self-government may be a guarantee against strikes. It is necessary to carry out without delay the political and economic reform in the lower echelons



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of government organs with the basic notions of which we are familiar and to enhance the independence of mines, enterprises, and regions.

Vorkuta Rail Workers Oppose Strike

904H0041B Moscow GUDOK in Russian
31 Oct 89 p 1

[Articles by V. Makarov and Yu. Bakhrin: "Losses Increase Due to...a Strike"]

[Text] Vorkuta, 29 October. Losses caused by the continuing strike by the collective of the Vorgashorskaya Mine, the largest in the Pechora Coal Basin, are growing rapidly. The contribution of this enterprise to the overall work performance of Vorkuta miners is very weighty. Its stoppage has brought about the Vorkutaugol Association failing to meet daily quotas for the production and shipment of fuel. Approximately 200 cars of Vorkuta coal daily are not shipped to our country's consumers.

By all signs, the Vorkutaugol Association will fail to meet the October plan. If in the 2 remaining days of October the Vorgashorskaya mine fails to resume operation, the miners of Vorkuta will have produced in the current month 100,000 plus tons less coal than planned. As of today, the arrears already amount to 75,000 tons.

The railroad workers of Vorkuta also suffer great losses due to the strike of miners. They have lost in terms of their remuneration. They have been forced to work with violations of the schedule of work and recreation of engine crews which has affected unfavorably the safety of train movement. Due to the lack of funds, the plans for building housing for the Vorkuta Division of the Northern Railroad most of the employees of which live in decrepit houses without amenities are not being fulfilled. The railroad workers have appealed to the miners through the city newspaper ZAPOLYARYE with a request to show restraint and prudence, prevent the ultimate disarray in the economy of Vorkuta, and not to paralyze the operation of the enterprises of our country which use coal from Vorkuta.

A city-wide meeting of representatives of enterprises and citizens of Vorkuta was held today. At the meeting, the course of the implementation of the Council of Ministers resolution dated 3 August 1989 was discussed. The miners stated their dissatisfaction with how this resolution is being implemented. As member of the city workers' (strike) committee V. Kopasov reported, the miners are planning to hold a 2-hour strike in sympathy with the collective of Vorgashorskaya Mine.

[signed] V. Makarov

Vorkuta, 30 October. Railroad employees of the Vorkuta Division of the Northern Railroad give an unambiguous negative evaluation to the actions of the collective of Vorgashorskaya Mine. The stoppage of work at the coal faces has actually caused the non-fulfillment of the

monthly plan for loading and shipping coal. In turn, this could not but affect the financial situation.

Beginning on 25 October, the pace of loading valuable coking coal has declined precipitously. On 26 October, only 605 cars were dispatched from the spur lines of mines of the Vorkutaugol Association, and on Sunday, 543 cars, the plan of average daily loading for October being 739 cars. This precipitous reduction is attributable solely to the work stoppage at Vorgashorskaya Mine. This coal-producing enterprise, the largest in the basin, should ship 226 cars daily. However, the mine has been overcoming with difficulty the crisis situation which developed here as far back as the summer. The warehouses of fuel produced still have not been filled to standard levels. On 26 October, not one ton of fuel was on the dump. In the association as a whole, the stocks are 136,400 tons below the standard.

As the railroad employees estimate, the stocks of raw material for coke-chemistry production in Cherepovets have declined precipitously, and now amount to only one-quarter of that mined.

Indeed, the losses which transportation has suffered due to the miners' strike—a strike which the Supreme Court of Komi Republic determined to be illegal—will be summed up. The railroad employees believe that the losses should be made up. However, the law does not provide for indemnification for lost advantages, and it is considerably higher than direct financial losses.

The workers of the Vorkuta Division did not support the decision of the city strike committee to hold a 2-hour warning strike of miners in Vorkuta in support of the demands of Vorgashorskaya Mine primarily because the package of this demands contains calls to embark on a political strike, in particular, for the repeal of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution.

[signed] Yu. Bakhrin.

Kuzbass Collectives Hold First Conference

PM1711091589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 15 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference of Kuzbass Working People"]

[Text] Kemerovo—The participants in the first conference of the oblast's labor collectives in the history of the Kuzbass are discussing the questions of enhancing the standard of work and their responsibility for the implementation of socioeconomic programs, as well as stepping up their influence on the sociopolitical life of one of the country's major industrial regions.

The organizing committee report delivered by USSR People's Deputy V. Romanov, chairman of Kemerovo Oblast Trade Union Council, stressed that the conference participants, who are starting to learn to work as a new body, are shouldering responsibility for uniting the working people of the Kuzbass.

The conference provided information on the progress made in fulfilling the protocols signed by the government commission after the July miners' strike. Out of 40-odd measures 12 have been completely carried out: The rayon wage coefficient has been increased, additional funds have been allocated for industrial and consumer goods, and the working people's proposals to improve provisions for pensioners have been taken into account. However, there has been slow progress in fulfilling such an important point as granting full economic and legal independence to coal-mining enterprises. On the one hand, the report stated, this is being opposed by the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and local production association apparatuses, and on the other hand, labor collective councils themselves are backing away from a principled attitude in solving this problem.

The conference of Kuzbass labor collectives will last for 2 days. It is planned that it will determine its attitude to the strikes and adopt a resolution on the creation of the material and spiritual prerequisites for shaping viable economic relations and developing working people's activeness at enterprises. Moreover, the conference participants intend to discuss the resolutions "On Discipline," "On the Elections of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Deputies and Local Soviets," "On the Fight Against Crime," "On the Ecological Threat," "On Charity," and others proposed by the organizing committee.

Neenets Deputy on Nuclear Test Sites

LD2411144289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0430 GMT on 24 November, carries in its "USSR People's Deputy Rostrum" program a 10-minute interview granted by Aleksandr Ivanovich Vyucheyevskiy, people's deputy of the Neenets national constituency, to correspondent Olga Vasilenko. Vyucheyevskiy begins by noting the growing activeness of the Northern people and, in particular, their growing concerns over government plans to transfer some nuclear tests away from Semipalatinsk to the sites on the islands of Novaya Zemlya. Inhabitants of the Neenets Autonomous Okrug have collected thousands of signatures in protest against nuclear tests. On behalf of his electorate, Vyucheyevskiy says he made a deputy's enquiry to Gorbachev, and received a reply from the government, signed by Igor Sergeyevich Belousov, chairman of the State Commission for military-industrial matters of the USSR Council of Ministers and Comrade Ryabev, chairman of the Bureau for the fuel and power complex of the USSR Council of Ministers. He reads from the letter, which reiterates the Soviet Union's belief in the need for tests to continue in the light of continuing U.S. commitment to increasing military potential, and gives assurances that only underground nuclear tests are carried by the Soviet Union, under strict regulation, and that radiation levels are strictly monitored.

He goes on to cite: "This monitoring is carried out not only by special services of the test site and the USSR Ministry of Defense, but also by subunits of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and the USSR Ministry of Health. Thus, the reason for the alarm of the region's population is the fact they are ill-informed about the measures carried out to ensure safety, and about underground nuclear tests. The complex ecological situation in the regions of the north of the USSR is not radiation-related, but is determined by economic activity connected with the industrial assimilation of the region." He continues: "With regard to the question you raised, we report that the matter of the reduction of the number of tests at the Semipalatinsk test site is at present being examined. The possibility of transferring certain tests to the islands of Novaya Zemlya is not ruled out. Proposals on this matter will be thoroughly examined, and a decision made in the first quarter of 1990. Moreover, prior to the adoption of a decision, the matter of holding tests on the islands of Novaya Zemlya will be discussed with the leadership of the republic and the oblast, and also with people's deputies of the relevant okrugs. At a meeting of the Committee on Issues of Ecology and Rational Use of Natural Resources of the USSR Supreme Soviet on 16 November 1989, an agreement was reached that the matter of choosing a new test site would be examined with the participation of members of this committee. I am in full agreement with you that a system of informing the population about the times of explosions and radiation levels must be set up. Tabeyev of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers, and Moiseyev and Chernavin of the USSR Defense Ministry have been instructed to resolve the matter of informing the population about the times of explosions, and Tabeyev of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and Comrade (Israel) of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature to provide information about the radiation level. We also report that no nuclear tests will be carried out in 1989. The participation of a group of scientists and of the public of your electoral constituency in independent measurements at the time of the next nuclear test in 1990 on the islands of Novaya Zemlya would be expedient."

Vyucheyevskiy goes on to recall how when he was 15, and open tests were carried out, fish and venison, the main food available in the region, were irradiated. Naturally people are concerned, he says.

He concludes by saying that he accepts that nuclear tests cannot be completely banned, but they must not be increased, and appeals to all inhabitants of the North, from the Kola peninsula to Chukotka, and to the parliamentary assembly of northern countries to support the initiative of the inhabitants of the Neenets Autonomous Okrug calling for a Nuclear-free North.

Draft Law on Local Self-Management Published

PM2711151089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

["Draft USSR Law on the General Principles of Local Self-Management and Local Economy in the USSR"]—

IZVESTIYA headline; draft "prepared by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and the Development of Management and Self-Management on the basis of a draft law submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers on 22 July 1989; approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 18 October 1989 at the first reading"—IZVESTIYA subhead]

[Text] Local self-management in the USSR, as part of the system of socialist self-management by the people, is called upon to ensure the autonomous resolution, by the population of a rural inhabited locality, settlement, rayon within a city, city, rayon, oblast, kray, or national administrative formation, of all questions of the territory's social and economic development and environmental conservation, as well as the implementation of citizens' rights and freedoms.

I. The System and Principles of Local Self-Management

Article 1. The system and territorial basis of local self-management

1. Local self-management, as a socioeconomic and sociopolitical form of self-organization by the members of Soviet society, is exercised by the population through the local soviets of people's deputies, organs of territorial social self-management, local referendums, neighborhood meetings and assemblies of citizens, and other forms of democracy.

The basic component of the system of local self-management is the local soviet of people's deputies. Within the limits laid down by laws of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics, the system of local self-management includes labor collectives, social organizations, and independent [samodeyatelnnye] associations and formations of citizens that provide the necessary conditions for every citizen of the USSR to exercise the constitutional right to participate in the management of state and social affairs.

2. Local self-management is exercised within administrative territorial borders.

Questions of the internal administrative territorial structure relating to the organization of local self-management fall exclusively within the competence of the corresponding union or autonomous republic, kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, or city under republican jurisdiction, and are resolved in the light of production, social, and historical conditions and the national peculiarities, ties, and relations of the population living in that territory.

Article 2. Principles of local self-management

Local self-management is exercised on the basis of the principles of people's power:

- exercise of the will of the people through soviets of people's deputies and referendums;
- the rule of law;

- the right to monitor [podkontrolnost] all organs of local self-management, as well as local organs of state management and officials, and their accountability to the population;
- autonomy and independence of soviets of people's deputies at various levels within the limits of the competence specified by law;
- broad participation by deputies, groups of deputies, labor collectives, social organizations, and other associations of citizens in the drafting, adoption, and implementation of decisions on questions of local significance;
- combination of local and statewide interests;
- glasnost.

Article 3. The powers of local self-management organs

1. Local self-management organs resolve all questions of local significance in accordance with their powers.
2. The powers and procedure for the organization and activity of local soviets of people's deputies at various levels and other local self-management organs are defined by laws of the USSR and union and autonomous republics.
3. Local soviets of people's deputies may transfer some of their powers to other organs of social self-management.
4. Questions affecting the interests of the population of contiguous and other territories are resolved jointly by the relevant soviets of people's deputies.

II. The Economic Basis of Local Self-Management

Article 4. The economic base for local self-management

The economic base for local self-management consists of natural resources (land, mineral wealth, water, forests, airspace), the property of entities engaged in economic activity in the territory concerned, and also the property of citizens living in that territory.

Article 5. The local economy and its structure

1. The local economy is formed by the collective property of the territory's population (the property of the territorial collective), and the right to dispose of the said property belongs to the local soviets of people's deputies.

2. The property of the territorial collective is made up of property made available freely by the state and other entities, and also property created and acquired (purchased) by the local soviet of people's deputies and other local self-management organs.

The procedure for the transfer of facilities [obyekty] to the local economy and the inventory of facilities made available freely are stipulated by the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics, or by the USSR Supreme Soviet for facilities of unionwide significance.

3. The local economy and parts thereof, as collective property, are subject to free buying and selling with the

exception of the restrictions stipulated by the USSR Laws "On Ownership in the USSR" and "On Land," and also the laws of union and autonomous republics.

4. The imposition of restrictions on the right of local soviets of people's deputies to dispose of collective property forming part of the local economy is the prerogative of the population themselves, or in exceptional cases of the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics.

Article 6. The relationship between local soviets of people's deputies and enterprises

1. Economic relations between local soviets of people's deputies and enterprises and organizations that do not form part of the local economy are organized on a contractual basis.

Relations that go beyond the bounds of contracts are exercised through labor collective councils and other organs of production self-management.

2. Leadership of the local economy is exercised by economic, legal, and organizational methods in the interests of citizens living in the territory concerned.

3. Questions of the organization of territorial, interterritorial, sector, and intersector organs of management of the local economy and their structure and manning are resolved by the relevant soviets of people's deputies.

III. The Financial Basis of Local Self-Management

Article 7. Financial resources

The financial resources of local self-management are formed from the budgetary and nonbudgetary funds of local soviets of people's deputies, the funds of organs of social territorial self-management, the funds attracted from enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, social organizations, and the population, credits, and other sources.

Article 8. The local budget

Local soviets of people's deputies autonomously formulate and approve their budgets and set their minimum level in the interests of local self-management. The budgets of soviets of people's deputies at various levels are independent. Intervention by higher organs in the process of formulation and approval of budgets by local soviets is not permitted.

Article 9. Local budget income

1. Local budgets incorporate in full the income from sources which may include the following:

payment for the manpower and fixed capital of enterprises in the local economy, as well as joint enterprises according to the share held in them by local soviets of people's deputies;

income tax from collective farms [kolkhozes] and other cooperative and social organizations;

income tax from workers and employees living in the local soviet's territory;

income tax on the wages of members of cooperatives and persons engaged in individual labor activity;

agricultural tax;

stamp duty [gosudarstvennaya poshlina], local taxes and duties, and patent fees from persons engaged in individual labor activity;

revenue from the sale and lease of property at the disposal of local soviets of people's deputies;

income from the sale of untenanted and confiscated property and unowned deposits [beskhozyaynyye vklady];

contributions from compulsory and voluntary insurance payments;

taxes from owners of means of transport;

other sources of income.

2. Contributions are made to local budgets according to stable long-term norms:

from payment for natural resources used for various purposes;

from payments from the profits of enterprises not forming part of the local economy, including enterprises under union and republican jurisdiction, and also from turnover tax and from income assigned to the republican budget;

from payment for production capital and manpower by enterprises not forming part of the local economy, including enterprises under union and republican jurisdiction.

Normatives for contributions are set by higher-level soviets of people's deputies by agreement with lower-level soviets, and may be differentiated depending on the structure of the local budget income and social normatives.

Other income stipulated by laws of the USSR and union and autonomous republics is contributed to local budgets.

3. Rates of payment for manpower and labor resources are stable and long-term, and are set by the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics. They may be differentiated depending on labor availability and the economic evaluation of the natural resources of territories.

Enterprises' payments are made into the budget according to the location of the enterprises and their subsidiaries or other structural units and subunits. Contributions from the profit of enterprises having subsidiaries on a given territory are made on the basis of the

proportion of the total number of workers employed by the enterprise who work at the subsidiaries in question.

4. Local soviets of people's deputies have the right to set: contributions to the budgets of lower-level soviets and other local self-management organs out of their own financial resources;

tax rates on profits and normatives for payment for production capital for enterprises and other entities in the local economy;

local taxes and duties.

Article 10. Local budget expenditure

Local soviets of people's deputies autonomously:

spend budget resources;

set the level of expenditure on maintaining the management apparatus and supplements to official salaries and wage rates for workers employed by the apparatus and by institutions in public education, health care, culture, physical culture and sport, and social security.

Income additionally obtained in the course of implementation of local budgets, as well as the surplus of income over expenditure formed as a result of overfulfillment of incomes or savings in expenditure, remain at the disposal of local soviets of people's deputies, are not subject to confiscation, and are utilized at their discretion.

Article 11. Nonbudgetary financial resources of local soviets of people's deputies

1. Local soviets of people's deputies may form nonbudgetary funds, incorporating:

additional income and financial savings obtained through the implementation of measures organized by local soviets to resolve economic and social problems;

voluntary contributions and donations from citizens and organizations and local self-taxation funds from the population;

income from local loans, local lotteries for money and goods, and auctions;

funds attracted on a voluntary basis from enterprises, kolkhozes and other cooperatives, and other social organizations;

finances exacted for unjustified profits (income) obtained by enterprises and organizations through excessively high prices (tariffs) for output (work, services);

finances for pollution of the environment and nonrational utilization of natural resources and other violations of nature conservation legislation, as well as payments in compensation for damage;

finances imposed by local soviets of people's deputies and their organs for administrative misdemeanors committed in the local soviet's territory;

payments by enterprises for manpower brought in over and above quotas;

other nonbudgetary funds.

2. Nonbudgetary funds are kept in special accounts opened at banking institutions, are not subject to confiscation, and are spent at the discretion of local soviets of people's deputies.

3. Local soviets of people's deputies, with the consent of labor collectives, may pool the resources of enterprises, cooperatives, and other social organizations and the population, and also budgetary and nonbudgetary resources, for the construction, extension, refurbishment, and maintenance of facilities in the social and production infrastructure, on a shared basis.

Article 12. Financial resources of organs of social territorial self-management

1. The financial resources of organs of social territorial self-management are formed from voluntary contributions and donations by enterprises, organizations, institutions, cooperatives, and the population, income from the enterprises they create, credits, and measures that are implemented.

2. Local soviets of people's deputies may hand over some of their financial resources to organs of social territorial self-management.

3. Organs of social territorial self-management:

utilize autonomously the financial resources at their disposal, in accordance with the objectives of their activity;

have the right to open accounts at banking institutions for monetary operations.

Article 13. Credit and monetary circulation

1. Local soviets of people's deputies and other local self-management organs have the right to use their own resources to participate in the creation and activity of financial and credit institutions.

2. Local soviets of people's deputies examine and approve the balances of the population's monetary income and expenditure and cash plans and help to strengthen monetary circulation in their territory.

3. The system of banks and financial and credit relations guarantees the rights of local self-management.

Article 14. Foreign economic relations

1. Local soviets of people's deputies have the right:

to organize the conclusion of contracts with foreign partners for the sale and acquisition of output out of available currency resources or on any other basis;

to create joint enterprises and participate, together with foreign partners, in the creation of joint scientific, cultural, and touristic centers and other organizations in the sphere of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with the aim of providing the social and production spheres with modern equipment and means of mechanization for housing, community, and municipal services and enterprises engaged in the processing of agricultural produce and developing their material base;

to form currency funds on the basis of deductions, according to the stable long-term normatives laid down, from the currency revenue of enterprises and tourist centers and cooperatives and from output sales;

to organize cross-border and coastal trade.

2. In free enterprise zones established by USSR legislation, local soviets of people's deputies also have additional powers in the sphere of foreign economic relations.

IV. Guarantees of Local Self-Management

Article 15. Coordinating plans for the socioeconomic development of the territory

1. No question of the utilization of natural resources or the creation or transformation of economic and social facilities in the relevant territory may be resolved without the agreement of the local soviet of people's deputies.

2. It is compulsory for enterprises and organizations, regardless of their allegiance, to coordinate plans, and also amendments to approved plans, in relation to the development of the social sphere, services to the population, consumer goods production, construction, the numbers of workers, the utilization of natural resources, local types of raw materials and semifinished materials, and secondary resources, nature conservation, and the use of land, water, and forests, with the soviets of autonomous okrugs and rayon, city, city rayon, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies.

In the event of the violation of this procedure local soviets have the right to adopt a decision to suspend work under plans that were not coordinated. An appeal against such a decision may be made to the court.

3. Material and technical supplies for local self-management are organized on the basis of the development of autonomous economic activity, as well as the existing state supply system.

Article 16. Ensuring the socialist rule of law

Local soviets of people's deputies have the right:

to suspend the operation of acts of the administration of enterprises, organizations, and institutions located in the relevant territory if such acts are contrary to legislation or to decisions of the soviet adopted within the bounds of its competence;

in the event of natural disasters, epidemics, epizootics, fires, and violations of public order, to implement special measures, stipulated in legislation, to ensure citizens' personal safety, protect their rights, and safeguard socialist property and law and order;

in cases stipulated by legislation, to adopt decisions and stipulate administrative accountability for their violation.

Article 17. The binding nature of decisions and the protection of the rights of local self-management

1. Local soviets of people's deputies, within the bounds of their powers, adopt decisions that are binding on all enterprises, organizations, institutions, cooperatives, officials, and citizens in the territory under their jurisdiction.

Decisions adopted by the voters as a result of a local referendum are binding on the relevant soviets of people's deputies and other organs of local self-management and citizens. They may be repealed according to a procedure stipulated by the union and autonomous republics' laws on referendums.

A decision of a local soviet of people's deputies, if it is contrary to legislation, may only be repealed by the court.

2. Higher-level organs, as well as enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, and other social organizations located in a local soviet's territory, are accountable to the organs of local self-management for damage to the interests of the population, the local economy, and the environment caused by unlawful decisions of theirs, and this includes material accountability.

Organs of local self-management may appeal to the court or the state arbitration service for the protection of their rights and legitimate interests, in accordance with legislation of the USSR and union and autonomous republics.

Article 18. Accountability of organs of local self-management

Damage caused as a result of wrongful decisions or actions by organs of local self-management is subject to repayment under judicial procedure.

Article 19. Duty to help local self-management organs

The highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics and all-union and republican organs of social organizations have a duty to give assistance to organs of local self-management, to examine their statements and proposals and take account of them in their own activity, and to report on the results of such examination to them and to the population.

Uzbek Party Views Nationalities, Language Issues*PM2711162189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Tashkent, 24 Nov—The perestroika of nationalities policy must start with the solution of basic economic and social tasks. This idea was stressed at an Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum held today. The participants discussed the results of the September (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the tasks of the republic's party organizations.

I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report.

The plenum named the problem of surplus labor resources as one of the most acute. Large-scale measures were outlined to develop enterprises that manufacture finished products.

At the last session of the republic's Supreme Soviet the Uzbek language was given state language status. However, we are decidedly not on the same path as those who are trying to counterpose the Uzbek people's sincere desire to develop their own language to the Russian language, and to dislodge us from internationalist positions.

The plenum participants adopted the Uzbek Communist Party platform on the upcoming elections of republic deputies to the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets.

Uzbek Agency Comments on Fergana Trials*90US0171A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA
in Russian 27 Oct 89 p 3*

[Article by the UZBEK TELEGRAPH AGENCY: "Punishment Is Inevitable"]

[Text] A public trial of 12 defendants who committed robbery and acts of hooliganism during the night of 4 to 5 June under aggravating circumstances is drawing to a close in the Fergana Palace of Culture "Chemical Worker." In the course of the trial, the court panel for common crimes of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Court has studied in detail the case referred to it by the investigative organs. In the course of the examination, a sociopolitical evaluation of the trial has been given and the criminal actions of every defendant have been determined.

At the last meeting following which the court retired to the deliberation room in order to reach a verdict the defense was heard. The defendants were given an opportunity to make a closing statement.

The public trial has been going on for more than a month. It has attracted the heightened attention of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of the Fergana Valley. Representatives of all cities and rayons of the

oblast, major industrial enterprises, and kolkhozes [collective farms] come to the sessions of the court.

As has already been reported, state prosecutor Procurator of the Fergana Oblast A. Atadzhanov demanded that two of the defendants, Parpiyev and Dzhurayev, be sentenced to the exceptional measure of punishment, and others to lengthy terms of imprisonment. Despite the final sentence having not been rendered yet, the trial has already proven convincingly the participation of those arrested in the crimes committed. However, the court has encountered both juggling with facts and the contradictory testimony of the accused who tried to lead the court examination astray and confuse it. In particular, this was clearly evident in the course of the court investigation of the criminal activities of Parpiyev and Dzhurayev who, according to the conclusions of the investigative organs, were the main executors of the bloody drama. In the course of the trial, they tried to shift the blame to each other, maintaining that they supposedly acted under duress. In a word, they did not at all look like the heroes they apparently appeared to themselves to be that night.

During interrogations at the trial, some of the accused stated that the testimony given by them in the course of the investigation was "extracted" from them under pressure by the investigators. A special commission of the USSR Procuracy was set up to examine these statements. Specialists came to Fergana who examined each individual statement. Their conclusion is unambiguous: There had not been a single occasion on which the investigators exceeded their authority or violated the law.

In the labor collectives of the oblast, the opinion is being voiced that the trials are being dragged out, that the details of crimes will be forgotten as time goes by, and it will be more difficult to find incontrovertible evidence. This means that the criminals will evade responsibility.

Assistant USSR General Prosecutor A. Frolov objects: "Eighty-five criminal cases against 142 people have already been completed and referred to the courts. In July and August, cases were referred to courts which were not particularly complicated—illegal possession of weapons, narcotics, and theft—whereas at present criminal cases against direct participants in the mass disturbances are under consideration. Cases involving premeditated murder in Kirovskiy and Uzbekistanskiy rayons and in Kuvasay have been referred to court echelons."

It should be added that haste in the investigation of crimes and consideration of cases by the courts is inadmissible. Only those guilty whose participation in criminal activities has been proven incontrovertibly should receive the punishment deserved.

There are other complications. Due to its large case load, the Fergana Oblast Court is not in a position to consider the entire mass of criminal cases promptly. This is why the decision was made to refer them to the Supreme

Court of the republic; the latter assigned them to be tried at the Karakalpak, Kashkadarya, and Tashkent courts. However, it was resolved that the most complicated trials will be held in Fergana Oblast. All of them are going to be public.

The trial in the Palace of Culture "Chemical Worker" is the main focal point was the attention of the public. This is understandable: What has happened is exceedingly monstrous. However, not only this trial is under way. Court investigations of other cases have already been completed. A sentence has been rendered in the case of Tuychiyev and Fazilov residing in Kirovskiy Rayon. Taking advantage of the complicated June situation, they committed a robbery assault on the female citizen S. and robbed her of R4,000 worth of securities. As a person with a previous court record, Tuychiyev was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment, and Fazilov to 5 years.

Very soon, trials of the accused residents of Tashlak A. Nazarov, A. Khodzhibolayev, and others who took the rayon executive committee chairman hostage, ransacked the rayon department of internal affairs, and burned several cars will begin.

The investigative organs referred to court echelons criminal cases against A. Askarov and S. Khamraliyev. The former fanned the flames of interethnic discord in Tashlak, assaulted a militia employee, and smashed a video camera. The latter called on the crowd to burn down the homes of Meskhetian Turks.

Most contradictory rumors are still circulating in the oblast, for example, that the soldiers of MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops supposedly fired on a peaceful demonstration in front of the Kokand City Party Committee. All kinds of numbers of fatalities are offered—up to 300. Employees of the USSR Procuracy and the military procuracy were enlisted to investigate this matter. Their opinion is that these rumors are without foundation, and they are being maliciously spread by the people who are attempting to destabilize the situation. Indeed, there are 35 persons of the Uzbek nationality among those who died in the course of the tragic events. How did they die?

A. Frolov says: "Under various circumstances. Indeed, there were fatalities as a result of the use of firearms by militia employees in the course of resisting assaults on the departments of internal affairs, several cases due to the failure to obey commandant's patrols. However, there are cases of a different nature as well. Recently, we completed a case the essence of which is as follows: A group of hooligans forced its way into one of the homes belonging to a family of Meskhetian Turks. They set fire to the structure. There was a gas bottle in the house. An explosion occurred, and nine of the attackers died."

Finally, in April of this year, a new wording of Article 64 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code "Infringements on the Ethnic and Racial Equality of Rights" was adopted which provides for penalties for deliberate actions aimed

at inciting ethnic and racial enmity. Several citizens have been charged under this article. They will face charges for spreading slanderous rumors.

Uzbek Parliament Resolution on Restoring Order

90US0171B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA
in Russian 24 Oct 89 pp 3-4

[Resolution of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Measures to Stabilize the Sociopolitical Situation in the Republic;" adopted in Tashkent on 21 October 1989]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet notes that recently social tension has increased considerably in our republic, the crime rate has gone up, and social, state, and labor discipline has weakened. The extent of crimes as dangerous as murders, crimes against the health and personal inviolability of citizens, robbery assaults, theft of socialist property and personal property of citizens, bribery, speculation, and other crimes associated with the generation of non-labor-derived incomes, gives rise to particular concern. Cases of abuses in setting up and operating individual types of cooperatives have occurred. Various operators and persons of extreme who frequently usurp the right to speak for the peoples of the republic under the guise of "fighters" for human rights are rearing their heads and attempting to vigorously influence the situation in our republic. Unauthorized rallies, demonstrations, and meetings are being held on the initiative of such persons at which they are advertising antisocial ideas, allowing themselves rude attacks against the party, the government, and the Soviet Armed Forces, and incite certain groups of the population, especially the young people, to commit antisocial actions and violations of Soviet laws. The situation has become particularly grave after the publication of the Law on the State Language of the Uzbek SSR.

Such actions destabilize the sociopolitical situation, undermine the belief of people in the ability of the organs of state power to defend the interests of the populace, give rise to various rumors, and cause the dissatisfaction of the populace.

The Supreme Soviet of the republic believes that the extremely tense situation which has emerged is associated to a great degree with serious shortcomings in the activities of state organs, public organizations, leaders of ministries and departments, enterprises, offices, cooperatives, kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhoses [state farms], and labor collectives aimed at indoctrinating the Soviet people in the spirit of respect for the law, established order, and discipline, and at putting an end to attempts at destabilizing the situation in cities and villages. The law enforcement organs do not ensure strict and absolute compliance with the law, display indulgence and unjustified leniency with regard to antisocial elements, and do not apply to them the measures envisaged by the law.

With a view to ensuring public security, reinforcing order and discipline, defending the legitimate interests of citizens, and putting an end to crimes and other violations of the law, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To demand that all organs of internal affairs, procuracy, justice, and other law-enforcement organs of the republic apply, in a timely manner and in full compliance with the law, established punitive measures to individuals committing crimes and disturbing public order, and put an end resolutely to the manifestations of extremism and any action aimed at inciting and fueling ethnic hostility and discord.

Every case of failing to act and to apply the measures envisaged by the law to the individuals guilty is to be considered a gravest violation of service duties which is incompatible with further work in the law enforcement organs.

2. To give the right to the functionaries of law enforcement organs to use active defense means: rubber sticks, handcuffs, and special methods for suppressing antisocial behavior in the course of putting an end to the actions of criminal elements and individuals who gravely disrupt public order, disrupt the work of transportation, infringe on the honor, dignity, and bodily inviolability of citizens and officials.

The above means may be used in the event a functionary of the internal affairs organs has warned the individual about the inadmissibility of the violation of laws by him and the latter has not responded to the warning given or resisted the lawful actions of the official.

In the event of an attack on a functionary of the internal affairs organs, the means of active defense are used without warning.

The decision to use the means of active defense is made by the militia functionary himself in strict compliance with the legislation in effect.

Other special means may be used during group acts of hooliganism, mass disturbances, and apprehending armed criminals in the manner set forth by the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers will consider proposals of the Uzbek SSR MVD on this issue within 1 month.

3. To increase the responsibility of managers of enterprises, organizations, educational establishments, other offices and public organizations for maintaining labor and production discipline and public order in the labor collectives they head.

To establish that the provision of premises and other state or public assets (means of communication, copying and other equipment, machinery, transportation) for participants in an unauthorized meeting, rally, street procession or demonstration or the creation of other conditions for organizing and holding such events by the

managers indicated and other officials entails disciplinary and administrative responsibility—fines of up to R1,000. They may also have their bonuses withheld for a term of up to 1 year. By a decision of their superior organ, they may be demoted for the same length of time. Regardless of the use of the measures enumerated, financial damages inflicted by their illegal actions are to be collected from them by an order of the court.

4. The participation of citizens in unauthorized meetings, street processions, and demonstrations during business hours should be considered as absence from work for no valid reason, and entails the responsibility envisaged by the norms of labor legislation of the republic. These persons may also have their turn on waiting lists for apartments set back; they may be deprived of bonuses and other preferences; the length of their labor leave is reduced by the number of days of absence.

5. Along with other punitive measures envisaged by the law, organizers of unauthorized meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations indemnify by an order of the court financial damages inflicted on enterprises, offices, organizations, and citizens as a result of unlawful activities. They are also deprived of bonuses and other additional payments for 1 year; their turn on waiting lists for apartments is set back, and the duration of their leave is reduced by the number of days of absence.

6. Executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies are to step up the monitoring of the activities of internal affairs organs aimed at resolutely suppressing crime and violations of public order. The operation of the [newly] set-up provisional committees, courts of peers, the DND [Volunteer People's Detachments], and other social formations is to be invigorated. Recommendations are to be made to the councils of labor collectives to reward DND members financially and morally. The procuracy of the republic and oblast executive committees are to study the practice of issuing permits for holding rallies, meetings, processions, and demonstrations, and restore proper order in this matter.

7. The Uzbek SSR Supreme Court is to study the practice of compliance with the law on the responsibility for violating the established procedures for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations, and to issue instructive clarifications concerning the correct and uniform application of this legislation.

8. To note the inaction of the Ministry of People's Education of the republic and its local organs with regard to the issues of raising the level of upbringing work among students and trainees of higher and special secondary educational establishments. To hold the heads of the ministry and offices and educational establishments reporting to it specifically and personally responsible for the condition of such work.

9. Within 1 month, the Council of Ministers of the republic is to consider the issues of improving material-technical supplies for the organs of internal affairs of the

city of Tashkent, improving the conditions of work and life of their employees. To envisage the allocation of motor vehicles for these organs from market stocks.

To consider necessary allocating R500,000 from the republic and oblast budgets for 1989 and 1990 with a view to rewarding the functionaries of the internal affairs organs of the republic who have particularly distinguished themselves in the course of work on reinforcing public order, primarily the enlisted men and sergeants.

10. The mass media are to cover the status of compliance with legal order in the republic and the course of implementing crime control measures in depth and truthfully; they are to explain the provisions of the laws on the equality of citizens regardless of their belonging to a particular nationality using specific examples.

11. In conjunction with the adoption of the present resolution, the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet is to make corresponding changes in the legislation of the Uzbek SSR.

[Signed] M. Ibragimov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet
L. Bekkulbekova, Secretary of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet

Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Session Reported

PM3011101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 89 Second Edition p 3

[TADZHIKTA-TASS report under general heading: "At Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 24 Nov—The second day of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session's work opened with a discussion of the draft laws on amendments and additions to the Tajik SSR Constitution and on elections of people's deputies to the republic's Supreme Soviet and local soviets, which had been published in the press beforehand.

An extensive discussion unfolded around the proposals of a number of citizens on the need to hold direct elections for the chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet as well as on residential qualifications. However, neither of these proposals received the support of the majority of deputies.

The proposal on residential qualifications for candidate people's deputies of the republic, which stipulated that they must have lived on Tajik territory for at least 5 years, was not adopted either.

Provisions of draft law articles concerning the election of people's deputies from social organizations were also not approved. The deputies made differing assessments of the draft law article which states that a candidate deputy is obliged to live or work on the territory of his electoral okrug. It was decided that citizens living anywhere on the republic's territory can be nominated as candidate deputies.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution scheduling the elections of Tajik SSR people's deputies for 25 February 1990 and also set up a republican electoral commission.

With this, the session concluded its work.

Kazakh Obkom Secretary Replaced

PM2311141389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "At Plenums and Sessions"]

[Text] Ust-Kamenogorsk, 17 Nov—An East Kazakhstan Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee [Obkom] plenum has been held to examine an organizational question.

The plenum relieved A.V. Milkin of his duties as first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his retirement on pension for health reasons.

The plenum considered two candidacies for the post of party obkom first secretary: I.N. Tutevol, head of the Kazakh Communist Party Organizational-Party and Cadre Work Department; and S.A. Kuznetsov, first secretary of Shemonaikhinskiy Rayon Party Committee. Their names were both included on the secret ballot paper. As a result of the multiple-candidate election, I.N. Tutevol was elected first secretary of East Kazakhstan Party Obkom.

More Than 150 Rehabilitated by Supreme Court

LD3011204189 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—More than 150 people, subjected to unlawful repressions in the 1930's, 1940's and the early 1950's, were proclaimed convicted without ground and fully rehabilitated by the USSR Supreme Court full-sale meeting that concluded its work today.

Most of these people were charged with so-called anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, meaning that they voiced discontent in connection with the decree of June 26, 1940 that legalized forced labour in the Soviet Union, or said the truth about the situation in the country at that time.

The rehabilitated people also include those who were convicted on charges of so-called incitement to, or committing terrorist acts against the leaders of the party and the state, above all against Stalin.

Accusations of this kind were recognised by the Supreme Court as totally without ground.

The Supreme Court plenum also considered the question of the determination of the nature of certain kinds of encroachments on the personal property of citizens when

concluding car sale or purchase deals, and a number of other problems that recently surfaced in court-room practice.

The USSR Procurator-General Aleksander Sukharev took part in the work of the USSR Supreme Court Plenum.

Sakharov on Human Rights, Perestroika

*PM3011151189 Copenhagen DET FRI AKTUEL
in Danish 25 Nov 89 p 2*

[Report on undated interview in Moscow with USSR People's Deputy Andrey Sakharov by Per Dalgard: "Old Fighter"]

[Exce-^{pt}] Moscow—[passage omitted] Sakharov's main criticism of Gorbachev is that the reform process is moving too slowly and he insists that Gorbachev must choose sides once and for all and not be satisfied with halfhearted, toothless reforms which simply have a choking effect on developments.

Sakharov is his country's conscience. And it was of course this that our conversation dealt with when I went to see him and ask him for his comments on the current situation in the Soviet Union.

[Sakharov] My fight has not only been about human rights. I have always attached great importance to disarmament and the whole reshaping of our political and economic system—what they are now calling perestroika. But the nucleus of the whole thing has been human rights. The concrete struggle for the rights of concrete individuals is of crucial importance. All abstract truths are only realized through the fates of concrete individuals. As long as concrete individuals continue to be persecuted in the most cruel fashion, it is impossible to be confident that things are fine in the realm of the more abstract issues. The situation in the Soviet Union with regard to human rights in the classic sense of freedom of thought, speech, and travel is better than it was in the 1970's, and when I was in Gorkiy. But the situation is still not good.

One of the things that worries me just now is the case against Sergey Kuznetsov from Sverdlovsk. He criticized the local authorities, the police, and the KGB. Then he was arrested at a demonstration to mark the anniversary of the adoption of the declaration on human rights. Since then he has been kept in custody, apart from a short period of freedom. He was subjected to dreadful treatment and was beaten many times, so his kidneys have been damaged. And most recently, when he declared a hunger strike on 2 November, he was moved to a hospital where his spine and head have been injured. There are now fears for his life. This is a very serious case and international public opinion should act now to prevent a repetition of the tragic outcome of the case of Anatoliy Marchenko (who died of his injuries in prison in 1986—DET FRI AKTUEL editor's note). There has been progress, but there is still a long way to go. For

example, the abuse of psychiatry continues, even though a law against it has been passed.

[Dalgard] The Supreme Soviet recently adopted a declaration condemning the enforced resettlement of whole peoples under Stalin. Are you happy with it?

[Sakharov] It is very important. It is a declaration which declares all enforced resettlements of whole peoples during the war to have been illegal. They were quite appalling actions, in reality genocides. I and other delegates declared at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet that it was also necessary to adopt a resolution calling for the restoration of justice, permission for the peoples to return to their home regions, and economic compensation. But there is nothing about any of this in the declaration, which only condemns the fact that the enforced resettlements took place. But this is in itself a historic event. But without the additions I have mentioned, full restitution has still not fully taken place.

[Dalgard] The Interregional Group, of which you are a leading member, seems to resemble a political party more and more. Is this the beginnings of a multiparty system in the Soviet Union?

[Sakharov] The Interregional Group has not fully lived up to the expectations that society had of it. It is not a party, but something else. It has brought together some active people who are making efforts to do what they can. The group is useful and I hope that it will be more active than it has been hitherto. I do not know if it is the beginnings of a party. But I have no doubts that our country is on its way toward a multiparty system. It is simply a necessity. It will happen one way or another—perhaps through a split in the CPSU. What has happened in Hungary could also happen here.

[Dalgard] Is it to be understood that perestroika will survive no matter what happens?

[Sakharov] At present perestroika is in a very critical phase. It has made enough progress for it to be impossible for it to perish. That is the dictate of the time. But perhaps there will be a long and painful delay, with great and serious consequences for the country and the whole world. This cannot be ruled out, but in order for this not to happen there must be a concretization of perestroika—the fundamental economic legislation must be passed as soon as possible, if possible at the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies. And it is also important to abolish Article 6 of the constitution (on the leading role of the party—DET FRI AKTUEL editor's note).

The Communist Party must not have a constitutionally guaranteed position of privilege and monopoly in society. The party is without doubt a powerful political factor, but its role in society must be based on its day-to-day work, so that every day it has to defend its authority. The road to the multiparty system must not be

closed. Only if these conditions are met will perestroika win people's confidence and in doing so guarantee its own success.

[Dalgard] How do you view your personal role in all of this?

[Sakharov] Here I have to be very modest, for I am no longer young and cannot take on any commitments. Every day I have to strive to complete what I can do in one day. I cannot promise anyone any more than that. [passage omitted]

Medvedev Answers Questions on Reforms, Glasnost

90U10130A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 46, 18-24 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, by an unidentified correspondent: "V.A. Medvedev: 'Glasnost Must Be For Everyone'"]

[Text] The press has reported meetings of members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee of the CPSU with the workforce of a number of Moscow enterprises. Judging by the reports, the working people displayed great interest in various aspects of the life of the country and the party and evaluated the progress of perestroika and its prospects. We publish below the answers of V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to certain questions put to him in the course of one such meeting in the Moscow "Kauchuk" Production Association.

[Correspondent] You have said that it is necessary to work actively and bring order to bear at the plant. But how can this be done if, of the R16 million profit, we withhold only R2 million for enterprise funds?

[Medvedev] I believe, and we discussed this today in the party committee, that this is abnormal and not in keeping with the principles of economic accountability. The more so in that some of the resources transferred to the budget are subsequently returned to the enterprise in the form of subsidies for modernization, the purchase of equipment and other needs. Full economic accountability presupposes more substantiated economic relations, whereby the enterprise lives and develops on its own resources. And does not simply cover production costs, what is more, but engages in expanded reproduction and equipment replacement and resolves social amenity questions. And it is not simply a question of money but also of their provision with resources. It is necessary that it be possible with the money earned to purchase equipment, materials and other necessities.

I have been told that your outfit intends as of the new year switching to such a progressive form of management as collective leasing. It needs to be prepared thoroughly lest the important undertaking be compromised and in order that the switch afford each workman an opportunity to feel himself to be a real participant in

the common economic and industrial process and sense that his earnings and social living conditions depend on how the outfit works.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the package of proposals for stabilization of the financial sphere and the market put forward at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, by N. Shmelev in particular?

[Medvedev] I believe that the list of proposals put forward by Comrade Shmelev—he spoke both at the USSR Supreme Soviet session and the meeting of economists in the CPSU Central Committee, in which I participated also—contains much that is useful, although it requires special study.

I would not, for example, put the emphasis on the foreign economic factor because we simply lack the opportunities for realizing it to such an extent. I am put on my guard also by the proposal concerning the sale of land and the conversion of some part thereof into private property. I believe that plots of land need to be made available, to townspeople included, and ultimately without any restrictions. Six million plots of land have been allocated in our country in the past few years, incidentally. But I believe that we would be wrong to allocate them practically free of charge. This does not stimulate use of the land. Land needs to be made available for use, but for a certain fee. Comrade Shmelev's other proposals, in my view, merit attention and support.

[Correspondent] Vadim Andreyevich, how is the business of cancellation of state product approval being tackled?

[Medvedev] I have already been asked this question repeatedly today. My thinking is this. I believed from the very outset and continue to believe that product quality must be stimulated economically, and not by administrative measures. But inasmuch as at the time of introduction of state product approval such an economic mechanism was lacking and we were very far away from such, to that extent I at that time supported the introduction of state product approval. As the economic mechanism is created, state product approval should give way to it. Given the move toward high product quality, these questions need to be resolved right now. And such opportunities are provided for by the corresponding decisions.

[Correspondent] The press, television and radio are criticizing negative phenomena of the past. What is your opinion concerning the correlation of the negative and the positive in the illustration of our past and present?

[Medvedev] I can underline my firm position on this question yet again. We cannot renounce our history, whatever it has been. Difficult, dramatic, no doubt. But at the same time it has been heroic also, filled with the labor of people, millions of whom have toiled honestly, guided by the noblest of intentions and lofty aspirations. The life of the generations which preceded us cannot be

canceled out. This would not only be cruel but unjust. History needs to be portrayed such as it is, in all its complexity.

[Correspondent] Vadim Andreyevich, explain your passiveness as a CPSU delegate at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

[Medvedev] I am prepared to accept your question as criticism. But I would like to make it clear that not all the deputies' "activity" is shown on the television screen. There is in addition, for example, painstaking work on the congress' Editorial Commission, of which I was elected chairman. The Editorial Commission worked very actively. It consisted of more than 60 persons. We held a whole series of meetings, there was a very heated and keen debate, and the commission reported the results of its work to the congress.

All deputies need to be active, evidently. But waiting in line for the microphone and seeking to speak on any pretext I consider, perhaps I am wrong, immodest and not the best manifestation of activity.

[Correspondent] When will there be an end to the persecution of the OGONEK and ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editorial offices, about which Comrades Korotich and Starkov have written in their publications?

[Medvedev] I do not know to which publications of Comrades Korotich and Starkov you refer but there are no grounds, I believe, for speaking of any persecution. It may be a question of the fact that there indeed was a discussion with Comrade Starkov, a member of the CPSU, concerning his leadership of the weekly and mistakes which had been made. Nor did he himself deny them, in general.

The rebukes concerned, specifically, the results of a sociological survey which the paper had conducted. You see, drawing conclusions concerning public opinion merely on the basis of letters to the paper is wrong and unscientific. Because the paper is read not by everyone but merely persons with a keen interest. Chiefly from the negative angle, from the positive angle, more seldom, what is more. An analysis of letters is of significance and characterizes the interests of readers of this publication to a certain extent, but it cannot be presented as an adequate expression of public opinion. Comrade Starkov acknowledged this mistake. There have also been other inaccuracies and mistakes in the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, which is, after all, intended to provide substantiated arguments and verified facts.

As far as OGONEK is concerned, we meet regularly and talk with its editor, Comrade Korotich, as with the editors of other journals. We have practical discussions of various problems and individual publications.

I believe that some of OGONEK's publications have been of an unduly inflammatory and short-tempered nature and that there has been a marked one-sidedness in the coverage of certain problems. And I have spoken

to the editor about this. Glasnost should be for everyone. There must be no zones free of criticism with us either in life or in the work of the party and state bodies. But neither should the press consider itself a zone free of criticism and discussion.

[Correspondent] Who opened the floodgates to the spread of vulgarity in our society? Who authorized and passed the screenplay of the motion picture "Intergirl" and how long will we have to suffer moral perversions through the fault of certain so-called cultural figures?

[Medvedev] This is altogether a very serious matter, comrades. I would like to express certain thoughts on this score.

Earlier there was, as you know, strict administrative control, over this aspect of the printed product, artistic products, and film output included. There is now no such control. Our artists and writers have found themselves in a new situation. A kind of "caisson" disease has afflicted some of them.

You ask me—why are you not controlling, why are you prohibiting and not closing the "floodgates"? Well, then, should we return to the "prohibitions" method? I believe that this would be wrong and would not be in the spirit of perestroika. We need to operate primarily via public opinion. For this reason I appeal to you not only to write memos to state and party officials at the podium but also raise your own voices more: Express your opinion about the work of newspapers and journals and about new films. We, for our part, will do everything to ensure that public opinion be heard. Specifically, we will speak about this constantly in contacts with critics and journalists.

I had a discussion on this subject with leading figures of the cinema at "Mosfilm," which, I believe, produced this film. I was told: "This is an infantile disorder. The West has already had it. And nothing special happened there—everything subsided, and no one is any longer bursting to see these obscene films."

Yes, this may be conceived of as an infantile disorder which we will have to come down with. But to take the comparison to its logical conclusion, the inevitability of such a disorder does not mean that we do not have to fight against it and do not have to prevent it in order that the disorder be more easily endured. But, it is a matter of disgraceful happenings at times, unfortunately. There are newspapers and leaflets produced by certain amateur organizations where simply unprintable expressions are encountered. This is going beyond the bounds of what is permissible. To determine some limits we will evidently have to have moral censorship. Such a commission operating on an official and public basis could be formed under the aegis of the Supreme Soviet or other authoritative body.

[Correspondent] Whom did Comrade Kharchev, former chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, who did so much to restore justice in matters of freedom of belief, displease?

[Medvedev] Truly, much has been done recently in the sense of an improvement in relations with religion and with ecclesiastical organizations. Excessive restrictions in the registration of religious communities, the opening of churches and so forth have been removed. Much has been done also to encourage the church's peace-making role. The 400th anniversary of the restoration of the patriarchate in Russia occurred recently, for example. We were asked whether a service could be conducted in the Kremlin, to which consent was given. A further number of questions has been resolved. This is our common policy, the result of perestroika.

As far as Comrade Kharchev is concerned, he, naturally, pursued this line also. There are no complaints about him in this respect. But I may say plainly that Comrade Kharchev's work methods were not in keeping with the nature of the institution of which he was head. Delicacy, punctiliousness and attention to the religious leaders are important here. After all, they have no other outlet to the state authorities.

But Comrade Kharchev began to direct both the Russian Orthodox Church and other religions as a zealous administrator. To interfere in their decisions, correct them and check them. It reached the point of the entire synod of the Russian Orthodox Church requesting an interview in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and of everyone protesting with one voice. How could he have continued to have built relations when all the leaders were opposed to his actions? It was with regard for this that the decision to move Comrade Kharchev to other work was made.

Opposition Figure on Group's Activities

AU2911191889 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY
in Polish 26 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Lev Palakonsky, member of SMOT, an organization acting as an unofficial trade union in the USSR, by Marian Pajdak: "SMOT"—date and place not given]

[Text] SMOT [Svobodnoye Mezhpromfessionalnoye Obединeniye Trudnyashchikhsya]—Free Inter-Professional Workers Association, is an unofficial (non-registered) trade union acting in the USSR. Its beginnings go back to 1978 when Khebanov, a mining engineer from the Donbas, began to organize people who had been expelled from their workplaces, and who had come to Moscow to seek justice from the USSR central authorities. Soon after, Khebanov was sent for "treatment" to a psychiatric hospital, other activists were arrested, and the movement was broken up. SMOT was formed from the remnants of that movement. It is comprised of various groups of people acting anonymously, and of dissidents who act in the open—the representatives of these groups.

These representatives form the SMOT Representative Council. Such an organization gives the rank and file membership a degree of security, and allows the union to carry on functioning despite the persecutions which all the members of the first council suffered. SMOT also publishes a news bulletin.

[Pajdak] Perhaps you would like to say something about yourself for our Polish readers.

[Palakonsky] I am a geologist by profession, but I no longer work in my field. I am active in the information section of our association. I have been deported twice to the Perm region of the central Ural Mountains. If it were not for the magnanimity of the perestroika leadership, I would have had to stay there for the another 4 years.

[Pajdak] For what reasons?

[Palakonsky] The first time was in 1979. I was sent there for breaches of paragraph 190—anti-Soviet activity. The second time was in 1983. This time it was for breaches of paragraph 70—lies and slander against the Soviet government. I returned to Moscow last year.

[Pajdak] I note that you wear a "Solidarity" badge in your lapel. Why?

[Palakonsky] From the moment we were formed, we have considered ourselves as independent trade unionists. The ideas that the leaders of "Solidarity" propagated in 1980 were close to our own program and our aims. While elaborating our program, we accepted that we were forming our organization so that our members would be able to count on the support of other members, and so that the individual should stop being treated as a faceless part of some vast collective, and that through our association we could begin exercising some influence. At the end of the 1970's such a program—taking into account all the sociopolitical realities prevailing at that time—was extremely radical. It met with a totally hostile reaction from the authorities. After "Solidarity" came onto the scene, all the leading members of our movement were persecuted. In the labor camps near Perm there were seven of us, but several have now left for the West.

[Pajdak] Lately, there have been many changes in the Soviet Union in the sphere of citizens rights. How do your members now function in the new reality?

[Palakonsky] At present our program is close to many programs of the centrist groupings, apolitical organizations, and other clubs. We function within the framework of the present law, the Constitution, and the international agreements which have been ratified by the Soviet Union.

[Pajdak] Are you really anti-Soviet, and revolutionary?

[Palakonsky] Many people today believe that SMOT is a radical and anti-Soviet organization which consists solely of workers and which concentrates solely on their

problems. SMOT, however, is an association of autonomous groups founded with the aim of mutual support of the working people, to put forward and defend their social, economic, and religious rights. The word "working" does not only mean workers. It is a fact that the organization consists largely of workers, but it is not limited to them.

[Pajdak] Someone called you an organization "of complainers who are seeking redress."

[Palakonsky] That is an incorrect description. It comes from the fact that for a long time the Workers Commission of the SMOT Representative Council was preoccupied with the grievances of the workers and the unemployed, and published information on these issues in our news bulletin. This should not be taken to imply that our association is formed solely of those people who have been wronged by the authorities, and that "seeking justice" is our main preoccupation. At present, these activities have been taken over by the Social Defense Committee. SMOT members can come together depending on their interests, be it for professional reasons, for further education, they can work for our information section, organize independent libraries, form interest clubs, and set up civil freedoms defense groups. The people who chose to join SMOT in future will ultimately decide what SMOT will be, and what it will focus on.

[Pajdak] What is it that distinguishes your group from other "unofficial" groups?

[Palakonsky] Our already-proven forms of activity, experience in decisionmaking, and our relationship to those who are in authority in our country. Most of the "unofficial" groups either ask for concessions from the authorities, or strive to precipitate confrontation. We do not seek conflict, but neither do we want to be regarded as tame by the authorities.

[Pajdak] What is the reaction of the authorities to your organization?

[Palakonsky] You should address this question to the Kremlin, and not to me. In my opinion, the relations between ourselves and the authorities can be said to be neutral. We do not want conflict. Our guiding principle is to be apolitical, independent, and self-regulating. We want to be independent of everyone. We are not stretching out our hand and asking for things.

[Pajdak] However, you have managed to come to the people's notice. These days, nobody is trying to conceal your presence by persecutions, or by silence, and now nobody is confiscating your samizdat publications.

[Palakonsky] That is why most of the SMOT groupings have now emerged from their previous clandestine activity. We are now able to function as if we were legally recognized, that is to say, with tacit permission. We maintain contact with the journalists of the NOVOSTI

PRESS AGENCY, and the editors of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and PROBLEMI EKOLOGII. These are solely contacts for the exchange of information. MOLODAYA GVARDIYA has approached us with a proposal to publish our collection of samizdat publications. In the beginning, there were less than 12 of us, but now it would be difficult to put a number on our total membership.

[Pajdak] What sort of things do you publish in your bulletin?

[Palakonsky] We mimeograph copies of SMOT program declarations, and of our Information Bulletin. Each copy of our Bulletin has three sections: complete information on all unofficial groups and organizations active in the Russian and the Baltic Republics; a list of all papers, periodicals, and newsletters, published by "informal" groups; and information on all political activists in prison, namely, their prison address, their release date, and the best ways and means of organizing help for them.

[Pajdak] Earlier in the interview you used the expression "SMOT groups." Can you give us some more information on your own information group, on the way it functions, and how you secure means to live, and to continue your activities?

[Palakonsky] The information group was formed in 1981. In the period from 1983 to 1987, all information was passed to the West and from there it flowed back into the Soviet Union. Our section has 15 editors who check the texts and organize the copying of the materials. Then there are about 50 people who collect information for us in some of the republics. Our association supports itself from membership dues, and everyone pays in what they can afford. The size of the contribution is not fixed. To live, we get by in various ways; part-time work—the Moscow area kolkhozes [collective farms] pay very well for seasonal worker—we form construction brigades, and one can earn quite well in the newly formed cooperatives.

[Pajdak] Does the association have a fixed address?

[Palakonsky] We have only just located our new abode, and we are in the process of refurbishing it. At the moment we only have our Moscow contact telephone number: 4399748.

[Pajdak] The declarations made about perestroika seem to foresee a radical and penetrating democratization of your sociopolitical life. How do you see future development of SMOT?

[Palakonsky] This depends on the direction that perestroika finally takes. Either we shall make a contribution to it, or we shall once again have to go underground. Even if perestroika succeeds in everything, we shall not cease our activity. The example of countries that are better developed than ours teaches us that man must have the opportunity for self-development in free social associations.

[Pajdak] Thank you for the interview.

PRAVDA Editor Says Perestroika 'Not a Race'

PM2811162289 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
20 Nov 89 p 9

[Interview with PRAVDA Editor Ivan Frolov by Sergio Sergi in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—Ivan Frolov, a 50-year-old philosopher, editor of PRAVDA for less than a month, has a large photograph of Lenin hanging behind his desk. He said: "It has always been there, perhaps it dates back to Bukharin's time." Dozens of books have reappeared on the shelves that cover an entire wall. They had been in the attic. He brought them down to disprove the claim that an editor of the CPSU daily must display "only works of Marx and Engels." Now he wants to display photographs of all his predecessors. But he said, with a laugh: "I must find out whether Stalin was ever editor. I would not want to leave a blank space in the album..." Here is his interview with L'UNITA.

[Sergi] The Communist leader in Berlin had to emerge from party headquarters to calm the crowd. Then the breaches were opened up in the wall. Are you, as editor of PRAVDA, afraid of having some day to give an account of similar dramatic events in the USSR?

[Frolov] I am not at all afraid of it. In our country Politburo members often come out to meet with the population. As you know, Gorbachev travels around the country, visits factories, talks with people in the streets. It is strange to hear this question asked. I have often accompanied Gorbachev on these trips and have had a chance to see and observe for myself. In this sense perestroika means precisely that our leaders have come out of their offices. If the German comrades have started acting the same way, we appreciate it.

[Sergi] But on 7 November, for the first time, several thousand people marched away from Red Square and called on the CPSU to relinquish its leading role. At Kishinev there were violent clashes between police and demonstrators who shouted slogans against the party and its armed forces. Other demonstrations of dissent are occurring in the country. What is happening?

[Frolov] I was more interested in the hundreds of thousands of people who marched to Red Square and who crossed it. It was a demonstration that lacked the pompous aspects that it used to have. I too heard about the attempted demonstration held elsewhere. Of course there is pluralism of opinion now, and so much the better. The events in Kishinev are very dangerous because they had a destabilizing aim. What is the reason for all this? It is clear: It is because a struggle is under way and it is possible for even this to happen. We are responding satisfactorily. Those who hope it will be possible to introduce anarchy under the banner of glasnost and democracy are very much mistaken. The state

will take measures, within the context of the law, just as is done in all states, including Italy.

[Sergi] A placard in Red Square read: "The people made their choice in 1917 and are following that path." Another, at the Olympic stadium, read: 72 years on the road to nothing...

[Frolov] I fully support the first slogan. But slogans are not statements that reveal everything. If we were to analyze the past 72 years we would have to talk about the mistakes made and even the crimes committed in Stalin's time and later. As for the alternative slogan, my stance is entirely negative. I know that some so-called "theoreticians" support such watchwords, but behind that assertion there is no real analysis, no wisdom, nor anything that could guide us toward the future.

[Sergi] You have worked for 2 1/2 years alongside Gorbachev; you are a deputy, Central Committee member, and academician. Now you are here in this other privileged observation post. So where is the USSR going?

[Frolov] What is happening is revolutionary perestroika, whereby a new, human face of socialism is being created. The aim of perestroika is to build a human and democratic socialism. It is not an immediate objective. I would cite a statement by Deng: Communism is not an immediate goal; it will happen a long way in the future, but not in 1,000 years' time...

[Sergi] Following what has happened in Hungary and Poland some people are saying: The USSR, which started perestroika, is lagging behind. On the anniversary of the revolution, Gorbachev said at Lenin's mausoleum: "We must move faster..." Let me ask you: Is it true that you have come to a halt?

[Frolov] Perestroika is not a race. What happens in other socialist countries is their own affair. Since April 1985 our country has taken the path of perestroika and has pursued it consistently. This course is not without errors but we have criticized, and still criticize, the proposals of the so-called radicals who believe that it is possible to jump from one era to another all at once. At a recent Politburo meeting Gorbachev formulated the new concept of "accelerating perestroika." Indeed, we cannot stay long in the transition phase. A slowing could cause many problems.

[Sergi] Chairman of the Council of Ministers Ryzhkov said recently that a mistake was made at the outset—to have given people the impression that it would all be easy and resolved quickly...

[Frolov] Perhaps this impression was given. But at the outset not everything was clear, even to those involved in perestroika. An understanding of the problems came as we went along. In 1985 we were inclined, rather, to improve existing structures. But when we started taking action we realized that surface restoration would not be enough. A revolution was needed. Those who propose different, alternative solutions show that they have not

even read the party documents. I see that sensational events are of more interest. You too did not go to Red Square, preferring the alternative demonstration. No, I am not saying this as a criticism...

[Sergi] I am sorry to contradict you, but I did attend the 7 November parade, and can prove it. I can show you Raisa Maksimovna Gorbachev's autograph on the back of my pass...

[Frolov] Oh, I am glad...

[Sergi] I would like to point out that I also went to see the alternative demonstration...

[Frolov] You move fast...

[Sergi] Gorbachev set you a task: to explain to readers what is happening in society. He added: Explain that we are loyal to perestroika. Was that perhaps because some people question the fact? Who questions the general secretary's loyalty?

[Frolov] I do not know. PRAVDA will continue to defend his line, our party's general line formulated jointly by the Central Committee, the Politburo, and Gorbachev. One of our aims is to illustrate the party's activity more. I know that there are many people around now who are demanding a leadership role. As the saying goes, without having ever used their fists, they want to pass themselves off as great fighters. They are people who gained courage only after the start of perestroika. Nevertheless there are those who did wage an active battle. Their hard work resulted in that which we call perestroika—a process prepared for through not destructive, but constructive activity. Many people maintain that they were the first to talk about Khrushchev's role, the 20th congress, and Bukharin. It is a lie, a dishonest maneuver. I urge you to examine the statements of many of these gentlemen more carefully. I know that the press has to feed on sensation, too, but it is right to examine the reliability of the sources through which information reaches the West.

[Sergi] One may well agree with what you say. But why do the leaders of the so-called opposition worry you so much?

[Frolov] Of course they do. They are speculating on an inadequately developed social awareness. There is the activity of the notorious Pamyat "Russianite" organization, and that of the democratic union. On the other side there are the "ultra-perestroikaists" who are creating unrest in the country, spreading rumors of a "coup d'etat" and a "civil war." What we need is hard work to build the new. We cannot live the whole time with the feeling that we are in a wretched country approaching bankruptcy. The USSR has had to deal with many difficulties during its history, and it has always emerged with honor.

[Sergi] Gorbachev's theory about the role of the press is as follows: The press is a social phenomenon and must serve the people; the people chose the path of reforms, so

the press must serve the cause of reforms. However, it seems that the general secretary has urged journalists not to go too far in their criticisms...

[Frolov] That is incorrect: Gorbachev's approach is more dialectical. What I inferred is that more criticisms are needed but that what are needed even more are positive ideas. It is not a matter of limiting criticisms—so many successes to so many defeats. That is too simplistic an approach. We must extend our critical analysis, because we must better understand the causes of what is not functioning. The negative does not have to be counterbalanced by the positive. This has already happened, and I experienced it personally following Brezhnev's accession to power. Then too I was working in the press and I came up against the Brezhnevian-Suslovian ideologists who accused me of acting from "unilateral stances."

[Sergi] You argue that "Right" and "Left" are mere labels that do not convey the complexity of conditions such as those in the USSR, and that the political stances now expressed in the press are more wide ranging. Could you give me some examples?

[Frolov] Such rigid classifications may even be used. But, faced with the new and the unexpected, everyone must undergo his own evolution, in his own awareness. I am referring to those with whom it is possible to conduct a dialogue. We must not act in accordance with the Stalinist principle of "whoever is not with us is against us." I would say: Whoever is not with us is against us for the present—or is not yet with us.

[Sergi] Let us consider what is happening right now. Where do you believe Europe is going?

[Frolov] I believe that some very interesting and stormy events are under way, involving the building of the common European home. Human values are predominating, which makes the prospect of the East European countries' integration more concrete, clearer. The new way of thinking is being asserted more and more. I believe that the general trend is toward a human and democratic society in which human values predominate. This does not mean that we are relinquishing socialist values. We are increasingly integrating socialism into the civilized world's processes of development. I understand socialism as a human and democratic society in which personal rights are fully guaranteed. Such a society does not exist anywhere, and the aim of perestroika is to create it, eliminating all vestiges of barracks communism.

Journalists, Readers Support Starkov

90U10147A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 47, 25 Nov-1 Dec 89 p 3

[Selection of readers' letters]

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost and the Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee

On 16 November this year an enlarged session of the USSR Journalists Union Moscow Organization [MOSZH] Board Presidium heard a report from N.I. Zyatkov, first deputy chief editor of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, in which he described how, following the well-known meeting with the leaders of the media in the CPSU Central Committee (13 October), it was suggested that V.A. Starkov, chief editor of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, leave the weekly.

Yes, there have been errors in the work of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: manifest bias has been displayed, and there have been inaccuracies in a number of articles.... But there are such shortcomings in the work of any press organ. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, however, now has the largest circulation in the world, and its evaluation by the readers is the principal evaluation of the activity of the weekly and, consequently, its editor.

The staff of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has come to the defense of V.A. Starkov. He was at a general meeting of the staff elected chief editor by secret ballot. However, the pressure on him has been incessant.

The MOSZH Presidium supports the decision of the creative team of journalists of the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editorial office which has come to the defense of its editor against arbitrary action. We believe that officials of the CPSU Central Committee machinery have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the "Znaniye" public organization, whose organ ARGUMENTY I FAKTY is.

The MOSZH Presidium believes that the persecution of journalists following critical remarks, even if made by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are an infringement of the processes of glasnost and democratization.

The MOSZH Presidium asks the USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee to look into this situation and convey its findings to the journalist community.

[Signed] USSR Journalists Union Moscow Organization Presidium.

Excerpt From the Minutes of an Open Party Meeting of the GUDOK Editorial Office on 20 November 1989

Heard: The appeal of the USSR Journalists Union Moscow Organization Board to the USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee and the CPSU Central Committee in defense of the chief editor of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

Resolved: Expressing solidarity with the staff of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY supporting its chief editor, the meeting overwhelmingly (one against) approved the MOSZH Board appeal.

**[To] USSR Supreme Soviet
CPSU Central Committee
Editorial Office of the Weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY**

We employees of Moscow's Long-Distance Radio Communications Research Institute Research Division No 9 believe that the staff of the editorial office of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY headed by Comrade V.A. Starkov is actively contributing to the restructuring processes in the country and we fully support its position.

We believe that the pressure on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and its machinery on Comrade V.A. Starkov for the purpose of removing him from leadership of the country's most popular publication is a crime against glasnost and will lead to a winding down of perestroika.

We appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet to come to the defense of glasnost and prevent the removal of Comrade V.A. Starkov from the position of chief editor of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

**Supplement: 142 employee signatures on 9 sheets.
16 November 1989.**

The USSR Cinematography Union Board Ninth Plenum, which discussed problems of film-making under the conditions of the cinema's transition to profit and loss accounting, was held 21-22 November in Moscow.

The participants in the plenum expressed solidarity with the staff of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY supporting Chief Editor V. Starkov and voted overwhelmingly (one against) for a protest resolution to be sent to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the "Znaniye" All-Union Society Board. The group of deputies of the Cinematography Union resolved to ask a question in the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the unlawful actions in respect of the chief editor of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

**[To] Editorial Office of the Weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost Committee**

At the present time, thanks to the truthful articles of a number of publications, all strata of the population have the opportunity to acquire reliable information on events occurring in the country.

We consider the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY first and foremost such a publication. Many of us are subscribers to and readers of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY and many people have renewed their subscription for 1990, hoping that the publication's line of expanding glasnost will not change.

Under the conditions of glasnost and the renovation of society we deem it impermissible to dismiss the chief editor for publications subsequently corroborated by documents, eyewitnesses and other publications and for reliable information on reality, which makes it possible to recognize the place of everyone in this world.

The workforce of the OS i VT NITI [expansion unknown] objects to the charges of the mistaken political

line of this publication and the dismissal of the chief editor. We believe that glasnost will really become the rule and that there is no need to fear for the future of its supporters.

164 signatures.

The editorial office is also receiving appeals from representatives of the overseas community, including politicians, businessmen and journalists. We adduce one of them.

[To] The CPSU Central Committee USSR Supreme Soviet

As the general body uniting the Norwegian Journalists Union, the Norwegian Editors Association and the Norwegian Newspaper Publishers Association, the Norwegian Press Association is disturbed by the threatened resignation of Vladislav Starkov, chief editor of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

This after he has done a colossal amount of work, making ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in a short time the Soviet Union's most popular newspaper and, in addition, a high-quality newspaper by international standards.

We know that the newspaper's staff fully supports its editor and that the paper's leading employees will undoubtedly follow their boss in the event of his departure. This would mean that the press organ, which is so important for the Soviet people, would be considerably weakened.

People working in Norway's press are following with great and positive interest the Soviet Union's new policy of glasnost and perestroika. For this reason this incident has caused us profound concern. We believe that it is a question not only of the future of V.A. Starkov. This is for us a touchstone of how seriously "glasnost" may be taken.

We subscribe to the appeal of the Moscow branch of the Journalists Union and most urgently request that the Central Committee not interfere in the internal affairs of the editorial office of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

Anne-Lise Stafne, president of the Norwegian Press Association.

Yakovlev Interviewed After Meeting Editors

*LD2511052789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2010 GMT 24 Nov 89*

[Interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by A. Zakharov, 21 November in the foyer of the Higher Komsomol School foyer; from "The View" program—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] On 21 November, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with editors of

youth publications and students from the higher Komsomol School. The youth press is frequently rebuked for laying it on a bit thick. Do you think it does?

[Yakovlev] No, I don't think so

[Zakharov] There is something of an atmosphere of, well, depressed spirits, at present a feeling of unsteadiness and instability in the country. What do our Western partners think of this, given that you are involved in international ties?

[Yakovlev] Well, you know, their attention is not so much on the unsteadiness as on the fact that a great process is under way. In this respect I think they are sometimes wiser than we ourselves.

[Zakharov] Speaking of wisdom, a wise man once said that people acquire a sense of freedom on understanding where development is leading. How would you outline this trend over the next few years?

[Yakovlev] I would say that so far that understanding does not yet exist as a mass phenomenon, so to speak. It will do one day though. It would be strange if everyone from the top to the bottom, horizontally and vertically, now had a precise understanding of the whole situation in the country and the basic development trends of where we are actually going. It really is a question of the masses' creativity; you cannot claim that someone has created a conception, someone has created a theory or a philosophy for some specific advancement and that everyone immediately realized and understood it—that would be a purely Stalinist approach. It would be wrong, a dogmatic or idealistic approach, if you want to talk the language of theory. For after all, society, the community has to be propelled by self-development, by its own self-awareness, its own creativity. Only then will there really be understanding.

[Zakharov] The country's leadership has now (?allowed) journalists to take interviews and so on, but still one has the feeling that even now, to a certain extent, we are mythologizing you in that we talk of leaders not as human beings but precisely as leaders.

[Yakovlev] Well, to some degree, that is true, but it is a tradition that has been created by both sides, by the journalists probably and the leaders, so you cannot now say who is responsible or not responsible for it...

[Zakharov interrupting] But would like to break that tradition if I were to put three very quick questions to you?

[Yakovlev] Go ahead.

[Zakharov] What books do you have on your desk at the moment? I mean literature.

[Yakovlev] At the present moment, you know, I am reading Dostoevsky—"Notes on Petersburg life," which may seem his most boring work, but I have not read it before. It really is written in big paragraphs, as they say

in literature, but I think it is something that one can read having lived a little, having lived a part or a substantial part of one's life. But now it is exceptionally interesting.

[Zakharov] Are you tolerant toward people?

[Yakovlev] Very tolerant—unfortunately, perhaps.

[Zakharov] The last question is what you had for breakfast today?

[Yakovlev] A cup of coffee.

[Zakharov] Thank you. I hope we will actually see you on our program. Given that there is a process of demystifying the leadership, we would like to take part.

[Yakovlev] Thank you.

Shevardnadze Addresses Foreign Ministry Council

PM3011165589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Nov 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Sitting Held"]

[Text] A sitting of the USSR Foreign Ministry Scientific Council involving leading Soviet scientists was held 24 November.

In his speech, E.A. Shevardnadze, chairman of the council and Soviet foreign minister, outlined the main directions for the future development of the dialogue between diplomacy and science begun at the ministry's science-and-practice conference a year ago. It was stressed that, in light of the present development of the international situation and the progress of restructuring in our country, the closest possible merging of diplomatic practice and scientific thought is becoming an increasingly relevant, vital task.

Foreign Ministry Aide on New Exit, Entry Law

PM2111094489 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 89 p 4

[V. Prokopenko report: "Open Border"]

[Text] Under a law adopted recently by the U.S. side, this year the States will accept 50,000 emigres from the USSR. More than 20,000 are already in Italy, and the rest are trying to obtain entry visas at the consular section of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The notice on the box for application forms reads, in part: "Files No 12001 through 22352, submitted from 7 April through 22 September, have been sent to the Washington registration center. The center is arranging interviews (testing) first of all for those who have close relatives in the United States and for others who have U.S. interest." Evidently preference will be given to those whom Washington regards as useful, with a valuable store of knowledge.

From conversations outside the embassy:

"What can we do?" a woman with a west Ukrainian accent asks anxiously. "We have left our jobs, handed over our apartment and passports to the state, and obtained an exit visa, and now we do not know when we will be able to leave."

"You don't have to tell me," Leva, a construction worker from Kiev, interrupts. "Our family is in the same situation."

"We must do something! Write posters, form pickets, look how many of us there are."

"No pickets! The Americans don't like it. I called my relatives, they advise us to be patient and wait..."

It is hard to say how many people in all are going to the embassies of foreign powers today. It is said that this year the Americans have issued a quarter of a million forms for emigres and refugees. R.A. Kuznetsov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Visas and Registration Administration, claims that on our side permission to leave for permanent residence abroad is being granted to everyone (with the exception of people with access to state secrets, this year only 0.15 percent of citizens wishing to leave the USSR have been refused permission). And this year some 200,000 people will leave permanently. As the official conducting a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center joked wryly: "They are not our waiting lines, they are yours."

The press conference was devoted to the drafting of a law on exit from and entry to the USSR for citizens of our country. This law is now being discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.G. Kovalev stated that the main purpose of the new law is to bring the entry and exit procedure into line with the concluding document of the Vienna meeting. In conditions where all countries are adopting a tougher approach to receiving emigres from the USSR, we want to avoid a situation where our citizens have to wait months to leave the country. It is no secret that only recently our people were secretly divided into those who could leave and those who could not. The time has come to put an end to this. The Soviet state is turning to its compatriots abroad.

Under the new law any USSR citizen will be able to obtain the new form of foreign passport for 5 years, the same for all countries. And no one will inquire for how long and for what purpose you are going abroad, whether on a tourist trip or in order to earn a bit of money. The Visas and Registration Administration workers will be obliged to draw up your documents within a month, or in cases of particular urgency in 3 days. Aeroflot will have to take care of providing tickets for all who wish to go abroad, and the Ministry of Finance must take care of currency exchanges (the exchange fund will most probably remain the same as before).

Bogomolov: Economic Plan Inspired by Old Methods

PM2711162689 Paris LE MONDE in French
24 Nov 89 p 37

[Interview with Oleg Bogomolov, director of Institute of Economics of World Socialist System, by Erik Izraelewicz and Francoise Lazare in Brussels—date not given]

[Text] [Question] Faced with a difficult economic situation, the Supreme Soviet has just adopted an emergency program. What do you think of it?

[Bogomolov] The deputies have indeed just decided on an emergency plan which is inspired more by old administrative methods than by the market mechanisms which we want to develop. These measures are aimed at limiting wage and price increases and increasing the supply of consumer goods through state orders.

The situation on the consumer goods market has regularly deteriorated and the consumption level of the whole population has fallen. The next session of Congress on 12 December will have to take other measures. There is no doubt that Mr Gorbachev's credibility among the population has been extensively undermined. If there is but a glimpse of an improvement, the people will be patient.

[Question] Some people are mentioning sabotage to explain the current deterioration in the economic situation....

[Bogomolov] There is not just sabotage! There is a very strong resistance within the bureaucratic structures. Many mistakes have also been made in the implementation of perestroika. The government prefers to plan the future rather than analyze the past to understand the mistakes. I am very worried by our inability to predict the future for the next 1 or 2 years.

[Question] What are the main mistakes?

[Bogomolov] We started to introduce market mechanisms in an inappropriate way in industry and that prompted inflation. The prices of goods are now increasing in succession and there are growing shortages. It is no longer possible to buy anything in the stores. The shelves are empty. Reforms should first have been introduced into agriculture. There would have been rapid results because the farmers are interested in leasing land. Unfortunately, in the agricultural sector, the local bureaucracy is very powerful and very conservative.

The law on the enterprises was a mistake. The latter preferred not to reduce their costs and to increase their prices. We should have concentrated on agriculture, light industries, and the agricultural and food industries, because they serve the retail market direct and not the wholesale market. Inflation is the main obstacle to reforms.

[Question] What plans are being studied?

[Bogomolov] I argued in favor of a bill on land to the Supreme Soviet commission just a few days ago. The idea is to lease land to peasants for a period of 100 years. It is important that the plan be adopted before the start of the new agricultural season in February or March.

East German Mark Convertible Within 1 Year

Price reform is also on the agenda; so is the law on ownership. Only the enterprises of some sectors, like the postal service, railroads, electricity, and the nuclear industry should continue to be state-owned. All other enterprises should be leased to the workers or turned into joint stock companies. The bill on ownership has already been drafted. It should be adopted quickly.

I am also proposing the introduction of a parallel currency to the ruble. At the last Council of Ministers meeting, its chairman, Mr Ryzhkov, said he was interested in the idea.

[Question] What do you want Western countries to do?

[Bogomolov] The Western countries must give us political support, for instance, by pursuing the disarmament process. However, we do not need their credit: It is very costly and we do not know how to use it correctly. In the early eighties, the increase in oil prices brought the USSR around \$170 billion in additional foreign currency, but we spent all that money without it having any effect on the economy.

[Question] What do you think of current developments in the GDR?

[Bogomolov] The GDR's integration into a European economic system, in the broad sense of the term, should be able to be carried out quickly. I think that the East German mark could become convertible within 1 year. However, the political reunification of the two German states will be a very lengthy process.

Shevardnadze Discusses Politics of Ecology

90US0232A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA
in Russian No 47, 22 Nov 89 pp 9, 10

[Article by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze: "Ecology and Diplomacy"]

[Text] A Western journalist covering the meeting of the leaders of the foreign policy departments of the Soviet Union and the United States in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, this September foretold that we would "look out the window toward the Snake River where a herd of buffalo would be grazing in a thicket of willow trees...."

So it was. Living, untouched nature became a part of our negotiations naturally and unconstrained, creating an inimitable background for them. It would, however, be more correct to say that the environment was not only the background but, in the specific language of diplomacy, the topic of the negotiations themselves. For

together with questions of disarmament, regional conflicts and human rights, transnational problems, and problems of bilateral relations, we discussed possible paths of our countries' cooperation in the sphere of nature conservation. Not only discussed, but also agreed on much.

Not even so long ago, it seemed, a huge distance separated ecology from diplomacy. This distance has practically disappeared in the eyes of just a single generation.

This is my generation, which in its younger years felt enraptured at industrialization, when clouds of thick black smoke above the plant smokestacks or the tractor hauling trees were perceived as symbols of technical and social progress and when the first chemical giants evoked only exultation in the face of the power of the human mind. "Smoky factories" inspired the muse of Mayakovskiy and so many other minds. We built such factories. Others built them also. It was obviously necessary to negotiate this stage, but for many countries it dragged on dangerously and unjustifiably.

A qualitative evolution in the public mind and its social and philosophical evaluations has occurred in the past 2 or 3 decades. And now factory smoke means for everyone an air pollutant, a flatland dam, a destroyer of local flora and fauna, and the felling of a forest to build a town, a malicious encroachment on the environment. Today we know that man's economic activity, in other words, that same industrialization, if exercised without consideration of natural factors, engenders forces and phenomena whose destructive potential is comparable with the consequences of the use of nuclear weapons.

It is no longer any secret today that catastrophic ecological change could undermine the resource base of mankind's socioeconomic development and jeopardize the very existence of life on earth. Even now 100 biological species are disappearing every day.

The problem of the ubiquitous spread of environmentally harmful industries and products, primarily their dangerous toxic varieties (toxic chemicals, chemical fertilizers, and so forth), is becoming particularly serious. There are annually per inhabitant of the earth more than 20 tonnes of industrial and other waste. More than 200 million tonnes of sulfuric and nitric oxide and mixed pollutants, which are particularly pernicious for mankind, are discharged into the atmosphere annually, and the percentage therein of carbon dioxide, billions of tonnes of which are discharged annually, is growing. And this could, not sometime but in the entirely foreseeable future, bring about a rise in air temperature, a corresponding rise in the sea level, and the flooding of substantial land areas. As a result hundreds of millions of people run the risk of becoming "ecological refugees". Various industrial accidents represent a considerable danger for the environment also. The ecologically thoughtless behavior of individuals and entire states is becoming the cause of the increased morbidity and

mortality of the population and is leading to irreversible genetic changes in the human and animal organism.

To make the most approximate generalization, if present trends continue, the inhabitants of our planet will be threatened by a poisoning of the air we breathe and the water we drink, a deterioration in the global climate, irreversible pollution of the oceans, destruction of the earth's protective ozone layer, disappearance of the forests, and progressive desert encroachment.

The conclusion which suggests itself is that the picture of mankind's slow extinction under the impact of negative ecological factors which he himself has created is not in the least bit more attractive than the notion of what our planet might expect in the event of a thermonuclear conflict. Consequently, the ecological front runs along the very forward edge of the struggle for mankind's survival on a par with disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts, and the surmounting of economic backwardness. It is from this forward edge position that I will dwell on certain aspects of the correlation of diplomacy and ecology at the current stage of the development of international life.

I.

Theoretical aspect. We may today speak with every justification about a docking of the sphere of politics and the sphere of nature conservation in a single discipline—**political ecology**. The new political thinking and the *modus operandi* appropriate thereto under the conditions of the world's growing interdependence have accelerated the reciprocal movement of these spheres and led to an understanding of the fact that treatment of the earth's ailments demands the adoption of immediate world solutions of the highest political level and a genuine internationalization of states' efforts.

Diplomacy is an inalienable part of a state's political activity and, consequently, it is organically a part, as a ponderable component, of the political ecology complex. Political ecology is practically expressed in international affairs in the concept of **ecological security** as a constituent of all-embracing security. By ecological security we understand a condition of interstate relations whereby the preservation, rational use and reproduction, and an increase in the quality of the environment are secured in the interests of the stable and safe development of all states and the creation of propitious conditions for the life of each individual. Ecological security presupposes the implementation of a system of standardized, organizational and economic, and industrial measures adopted within the framework of broad-based international cooperation and on the basis of international law. These measures are geared to prevention of the possibility of the outbreak of ecological catastrophes and changes in the earth's biosphere which are irreversible and disastrous for various forms of life, the sure predictability of the further course of ecological processes, the rational use of natural resources, and the optimization of the

relationship of human society and nature as the basis of its stable socioeconomic development.

Ultimately it is a question of the actual practical embodiment on a worldwide scale of the ideas concerning the rational and intelligent interaction of man and nature which were formulated by our great compatriot V.I. Vernadskiy.

In defining the basic principles of the concept of ecological security, the Soviet Union views peacemaking creativity, disarmament, economics, and the ecology in their unity. This unity is not mechanical but dialectical when the task is not that of tying all spheres of security into one tight knot, but a policy of securing real progress in each of them with progress toward specific practical measures which correspond to the essence and specifics of the problems without their ideologization.

There is no longer any state, perhaps, which has not put ecology at the center of the highest political thinking. On a par with other central problems of the present day, what is more. Thus at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in July 1988 in Warsaw the top leaders of the Warsaw Pact states concluded and recorded in a special document that the arms race, nuclear particularly, is a most dangerous source of a deterioration in the environment and that the solution of ecological problems is closely connected with a strengthening of peace, international security, and disarmament.

The ecological theme was heard loudly at a recent meeting of the West's "seven" developed countries, at the forum of the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade, and at the Commonwealth Conference in Kuala Lumpur. This is perfectly natural for present-day ecological processes know no national boundaries and are of a global or, at least, regional nature not only in terms of their negative consequences, but also from the viewpoint of the measures which are essential for their solution.

Such measures are impossible without the collective concerted actions of all states, regardless of their sociopolitical system, economic development level, geographical location, and natural conditions. From which came the need for the elaboration and adoption of a **strategy of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources**. This presupposes that a state have its own national environmental protection action programs and its readiness to conscientiously participate in international cooperation geared to the solution of global and regional ecological problems. Formulation of the tasks to be tackled within the framework of a global environmental protection strategy should proceed along the lines of concentration of efforts in the priority areas. We should put in this category primarily climatic changes, the trans-border transference of pollutants and acid rain, depletion of the ozone layer, pollution of the oceans, soil degradation, making of deserts, deforestation, the disappearance of species of flora and fauna, damage to polar regions, the utilization, decontamination, and burial of

dangerous waste, genetic effects, contamination of outer space, the proliferation of ecologically safe technology and major accidents.

In respect of each of these fields the Soviet Union is prepared to express specific proposals oriented toward the development of international ecological interaction.

II.

Legal aspect. International nature-conservation cooperation should be firmly based on a dependable legal foundation. I believe that formulation of the question of the formation of a kind of "ecological legal space" with all its fundamental principles and the rules, criteria, and standards developing them is entirely legitimate.

There is no legal vacuum in ecology, of course. On the contrary, the number of agreements on environmental protection issues which states have concluded as of the present exceeds 140, and the USSR participates in 55 of them. These instruments of international law include very interesting and important ones: For example, the 1963 treaty banning the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water; the 1972 convention preventing pollution of the sea by discharges of waste and other materials; the 1977 convention banning the military or any other hostile use of means of altering the environment; the 1979 convention on trans-border air pollution over large distances; the 1985 convention on protection of the ozone layer; the 1986 convention on assistance in the event of a nuclear accident or radiation emergency. The possibility of the USSR's subscribing to a further three dozen international nature-conservation agreements which allow of our participation (with regard for the fact that approximately one-third of the said number of instruments in international law in the ecological sphere is of a specifically local and, at times, altogether exclusive nature) is being studied at the present time.

An analysis of the entire extent of the normative material pertaining to nature-conservation problems inevitably leads to the conclusion that, first, there are agreements and agreements; second, that a common system and concept of the development of international ecology law has yet to take shape; and, third, that the total number of existing agreements cannot serve as an indicator of adequacy of the solution of the problem as a whole. And, indeed, the majority of the above-mentioned documents is devoted to comparatively narrow and purely specific questions, and there are few among them of the kind whose action is geared to the surmounting not of individual unpropitious phenomena, but major harmful processes occurring in nature (it is for this reason that the elaboration of conventions on the prevention of climatic changes and the preservation of the earth's biological diversity is now so urgent). Nor are there yet in present-day international law concerted definitions of such concepts as, say, "ecological catastrophe," "ecological crisis," "ecological disaster area," and so forth which would serve as a signal for the adoption of practical

measures. Particularly palpable is the absence in this category of international law of a consolidated instrument, a kind of **code of states' civilized and ecologically correct behavior** defining and organically combining their rights and duties in respect of nature and one another.

The sphere of human rights, in which there are two pivotal documents—international pacts imparting binding force to the fundamental postulates of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—may be taken as a model. The pacts are supplemented by a series of agreements providing for the realization of specific rights. In our view, such a pivotal document is an extreme necessity in the nature-conservation sphere also.

Recognition of each individual's unconditional right to life in the most propitious environment for this, which ensues directly from Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaimed the right to life, should, it would seem, be made the basis of the ecology code. There should simultaneously be confirmation of the right of each state to the use of the environment and natural resources for development purposes and for providing for the needs and interests of its citizens. No state's ecological well-being may be secured here at the expense of other states or without consideration of their interests. No activity on the part of a state—either military or economic—should harm the environment both within and beyond its national jurisdiction. Each state should make a comprehensive evaluation of the ecological consequences of the economic and other activity exercised on its territory and put it at the disposal of other interested states and also international organizations. Any forms of economic and other activity whose ecological consequences are unpredictable are impermissible. Effective supervision at the global, regional, and national levels of the state of and changes in the environment and natural resources on the basis of internationally recognized criteria and parameters is required. States' accountability in respect of their nature-conservation activity and also ecological incidents, both those which have occurred and those which have been prevented on their territory, should be established. The free and unimpeded international exchange of S&T information on environmental problems and progressive nature-saving technology is essential. States should render one another assistance in ecological emergencies. All disputes connected with problems of the environment must be resolved only by peaceful means. Rules of liability for causing damage to the environment and compensation to persons who have suffered as a result of this should be established in international law and national legislation. Consistent and systematic work should be performed in all states on the ecological schooling and education of the population and the spread of knowledge in the sphere of the rational use of nature.

It is necessary to make full use of the immense potential and authority of international law for the molding of a

planetary ecological consensus and for bringing international nature-conservation cooperation to a qualitatively new, truly global level. We have now presented the idea of the primacy of international law, which has met with extensive international support. Seeking to ensure that in its realization questions of the ecology occupy a paramount place is perfectly justified.

III.

The organizational aspect. A most important role in interstate interaction on questions of the environment is played by the United Nations and its main ecological unit—The UN Environmental Program (UNEP). Dozens of intergovernmental and nongovernmental international organizations are now engaged in ecological problems to one degree or another. I shall name only the World Meteorological Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency, UNESCO, the International Labor Organization, and the World Health Organization. All these organizations together in combination with hundreds of national groups and movements create a solid **structural mechanism** on which international environmental protection work should rest. It is necessary to put into operation all of its units, which are called upon to play a significant role in the implementation of a number of large-scale proposals concerning environmental questions put forth recently by the Soviet Union. I have in mind above all the ideas formulated recently by M.S. Gorbachev of creating under the United Nations a **Center for Emergency Ecological Aid** and the organization of a global system of observance and monitoring of the environment which covers the entire planet in the interests of ecology. The Soviet Union is in favor of having problems of ecological safety raised to the level of the only organ in the UN system authorized to make decisions that are mandatory for the states—the **Security Council**. At the same time we consider it necessary to strengthen UNEP organizationally and materially as the coordinator of international activity for environmental protection. It is also time to think seriously about the international mechanism for **ecological monitoring** since openness and transparency and the possibility of making sure that the partners conscientiously fulfill the commitments they have made are indispensable components of international cooperation in the sphere of protection of nature. It is necessary to think in nonstandard ways and, if you will, audaciously, if only because what comes to mind of its own accord here is the parallel with disarmament. Measures of ecological trust are just as necessary as measures for strengthening trust in the military area. For the same instruments and methods as we use for purposes monitoring the fulfillment of agreements for arms limitation and disarmament can quite possibly be applied for checking on ecologically unfavorable phenomena. Why then should the centers for reducing the nuclear threat or the future center for reducing military danger not be used simultaneously as centers for preventing ecological danger? Why not add ecological measurement to the concept of the "open skies" which we have suggested be

extended to the seas, earth, and space? Incidentally, this would be a concrete response to the misgivings that are being expressed ever more loudly regarding the increasing volumes of "space garbage."

The real strides in disarmament and the earmarked prospect of at least partially lightening the heavy burden of military expenditures have placed on the agenda problems of **conversion**, which are also being discussed actively both in international organizations, including the United Nations, and at the national level. This is an extremely important matter, and especially for the protection of nature. And here measures and procedures for military purposes could be combined with ecological control. We would have simple and efficient utilization of the results of joint efforts of the states which have been undertaken in the name of saving the planet from destruction. Taking these possibilities into account, it would ultimately be expedient to develop a global plan for ecological control which would envision all the necessary forms and methods of verification, including on-the-spot inspections. There is also another aspect of the problem of openness and transparency. International cooperation in the matter of environmental protection is unthinkable without extensive exchange not only of information, but also of **resource-saving technologies**. Saving the planet means changing over everywhere to the most advanced waste-free and reduced-waste methods of production which spare the environment. Correspondingly we must develop a system for international transfer of ecologically pure technologies which would effectively provide access to them for all who need them.

The Conference on the Environment and Development to be convened in 1992, whose concept is being developed by the current session of the UN General Assembly, will be a turning point in international environmental cooperation. As we know, the USSR suggested conducting it at the level of the heads of state and governments. We think that this forum will be called upon to make truly fateful decisions which for many years in the future will determine the directions and content of the activity for protection of the environment on the scale of the entire world. They include the aforementioned code of civilized and ecologically correct behavior of states and the global strategy for protection of the environment and rational utilization of national resources and also the system of ecological monitoring and exchange of modern resource-saving technologies. The conference requires the most careful and comprehensive preparation, for which not very much time remains. This makes this task even more important for Soviet diplomacy.

Europe could provide an example of the organization of international ecological cooperation on a regional and interregional level. I should like for this continent with its growing awareness of common problems and interests in the "common European home" to become the model of a responsible approach to environmental protection tasks. It was to Europe that M.S. Gorbachev directed his proposal to form a regional system of ecological safety and implementation of a long-term continental ecology

program. There is a reliable organizational structure for this in the form of the UN European Economic Commission with its wealth of experience in research and projects concerning questions of protection of the environment.

For the first time within the framework of the general European process an ecological forum has been conducted in Sofia which considered questions of avoiding and limiting the trans-border consequences of industrial accidents, handling of potentially dangerous chemical substances, and pollution of waterways across borders and international lakes. The readiness for continental and bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union on questions of the environment which is being manifested more and more concretely by European communities and the Council of Europe is a positive sign.

The Soviet Union supports the joint proposal of Poland and Sweden concerning holding a conference on environmental protection in the Baltic region and Finland's proposal to convene a conference on the ecology of the Arctic.

I am convinced that ecology throughout Europe has a great future.

IV.

The economic and financial aspect. Problems of ecological regeneration are inseparable from problems of economic development. This interconnection is the subject of the report entitled "Our Common Future" of the authorized international commission chaired by G. Harlem Brundtland, who until recently was the Norwegian prime minister. This document substantiates the idea of **stable and ecologically safe development** based on a recognition of the absolute necessity of accounting for ecological factors and making sure that nature is not harmed during the process of economic activity. The goal consists in making sure that for every future generation the environment is in no worse condition than it was for the preceding one. The principle is undoubtedly correct and it is supported and approved by the United Nations. But at the same time there arises the most crucial and fundamental question of the material aspect of the matter. To put it simply, how are we going to pay for all this?

It is generally known that the countries of the world had the most diverse kinds of baggage, each with its own values and priorities, when they reached the point where they clearly recognized that it was necessary to take joint actions in order to save and preserve life on earth. The developed countries are now most actively placing tasks for the protection of nature in the foreground. But, after all, they are mainly responsible for the majority of the pollutants that have been and are being discharged into the atmosphere. The developing countries consider it an absolute priority to overcome the economic backwardness and they simply do not have the money to develop their industrial and agricultural sectors strictly in keeping with modern ecological requirements. Time is

passing and the situation is becoming more difficult, and so far shamefully little has been done on this plane.

We need a dialogue whose purpose would be mutual aid for states in the ecological sphere with special attention to the needs and interests of the developing world. Its participants must be imbued with an understanding that in the ecological area all countries are interconnected and that mutual assistance in this area is not philanthropy, but a condition for the survival of all. It is quite obvious that in questions of material support for international ecological cooperation, the traditional canons of equivalent exchange—"so much from us and the same amount from you"—are inapplicable. A different approach is needed here, one based on international awareness and a correct understanding of the realities of modern life, on a readiness to exhibit good will and, if you will, magnanimity on behalf of the common good. Correspondingly, the states' shares of the international expenditures on ecological needs should also vary: **Those who have pushed forward must extend a hand to those who have fallen behind.** A similar principle should be observed when transferring advanced resource-saving technologies: Those who have them should share them with those who do not under the most beneficial and favorable conditions, if not free of charge.

As concerns the concrete sources of funds for financing measures directed toward improving the ecological health of the planet, I consider it quite appropriate to mention one fact without making accusations. Each year on the books of Western corporations there are tens of billions of dollars which are literally "pumped" out of the developing countries. I shall not go into the details of the gigantic pumping mechanism—it is fairly complex and cleverly contrived, but the final result is simple and obvious: the continuing impoverishment of these countries and their digging ever deeper into the depths of financial indebtedness. And it is as though we have all become accustomed to the fact that the movement of capital proceeds mainly in the direction from the developing world to the developed world and not vice versa.

It is necessary to change this tendency and reach a point where **at least part of the money is returned to the developing countries**, say, especially for ecological needs. In this context we should study attentively and in a benevolent spirit the idea of creating a fund for the protection of the planet put forward by the prime minister of India, R. Ghandi at a recent conference of the nonaligned movement in Belgrade.

An important source of material resources for the development of international environmental protection cooperation is disarmament and conversion, which I have already mentioned. "We cannot save the environment unless we enter on the path of disarmament and release funds for solving ecological problems," said M.S. Gorbachev in his speech in London. **The creation of an international ecology fund** which would be formed from deductions from money released because of the reduction of military expenditures and budgets as a result of

disarmament is a quite realistic and feasible thing, which the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated in the United Nations.

There is one conclusion: Money is needed in order to surmount the danger of the ecological crisis. The problem is extremely complicated and, of course, it cannot be solved in 1 year. But it must be solved, for passivity or "letting things slide" will lead only to more difficulties and losses. In think that financial support for international environmental protection measures should be one of the primary questions of the UN conference on the environment and development in 1992.

V.

The internal aspect. The participation of any state in international environmental protection cooperation cannot be full-fledged and fully valid if the **proper ecological order** has not been introduced in the state itself. Unfortunately, here we have many more unsolved problems than achievements.

As we know, the Soviet Union is conducting a complex of measures intended to overcome our many years of ecological neglect, which is being felt quite strongly in the economy as well. We shall have to take many dozens of enterprises out of operation and take other extreme measures. The draft of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1990 submitted for consideration by the session of the Supreme Soviet gives priority to problems of ecology. While there will be a significant reduction of the volume of capital investments in the production sphere, their limit for environmental protection measures is being increased. In keeping with the decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, preparations are being completed on a long-term state program for protection of the environment and efficient utilization of natural resources. It should be noted that the drawing up and approval of this fundamental document has been drawn out. The consideration of the question of immediate measures for ecological improvement of the country is included on the agenda of the second session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A draft state program for providing for the country's stable development under the conditions of the changing climate is now being drawn up. In the near future it is also expected that there will be a long-delayed publication of the report "The Condition of the Environment in the USSR."

As an example of the concrete results of the Soviet Union's new approach to international environmental protection measures one can give the fulfillment of the commitments of the 1985 convention on protection of the ozone layer, which pertains to ozone-destroying substances. Just as the leading industrial countries of the West have done, we have announced our readiness to fully halt the production and utilization of these substances (chlorofluorohydrocarbons) by the year 2000; that is, to condense the schedule envisioned by the special protocol. In 1988 one of our plants which produces

aerosols was completely changed over to the production of nonozone-active propellants, and this year it is expected that two similar enterprises will be changed over.

At the same time we cannot but recognize that the Soviet Union was significantly late in joining in on real international cooperation in this area. In the relatively recent past our country, while declaring its adherence to the cause of environmental protection in words, frequently stood on the sidelines of the most important international measures in the area of ecology and essentially ignored the experience accumulated by multilateral diplomacy in this sphere. Thus out of purely political considerations the Soviet Union failed to participate in the work of the UN Stockholm conference on problems of man's environment in 1972. And this was the forum that generated the declaration which laid the ideological basis for international activity for protection of the environment (it also made the decision to form UNEP). Now we have to **make up for lost time** and exert extra effort in order to restore confidence in the USSR as a partner in environmental protection cooperation which was seriously undermined during the years of stagnation. We have ended up in the position of someone chasing a train which has already gathered a good deal of speed. Moreover one can say that even on the move bewildering questions can arise.

Why, for example, have we kept secret for so long—and not just from the international community but also from the people themselves—the figures on the condition of the environment in our country? Why have people not been informed about the large ecological disasters that have taken place on our territory? Why have we not thought about the possibility of taking advantage of the efforts of the world community in order to improve the situation in our ecologically unfavorable regions and to more extensively open up unique territories of our country for scientific research? Why is the Soviet Union not participating in the global data base on natural resources, whose rich technical and informational capabilities could render invaluable aid in long-term planning and prognostication of economic processes and natural phenomena? Why have we not dealt with the international-legal situation with respect to the ecology?

It is sometimes difficult to find a simple answer to these and other questions—they involve financial difficulties, departmental problems, sluggishness, and, probably the main thing, our fear of revealing "secret" information about ourselves and the equally unjustified counting on our own forces.

Now ecological inactivity and autarchy are a part of the past for us. The Soviet Union is confirming in word and deed its readiness for broad international interaction in the area of ecology. I emphasize once again that we are speaking out against ideologization of this sphere of international cooperation where human interests and

values have been placed on the map, and we think that there should be no place here for political ambitions and confrontations.

Bringing diplomacy and environmental protection activities closer together required a **certain restructuring of the organization of work in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs**. A department for ecological issues was set up in our Administration for the Issues of International Scientific-Technical Cooperation. The Interdepartmental Commission for the Foreign-Policy and International-Law Issues of Cooperation in Environmental Protection was set up at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other departments active in the ecological sphere, primarily the USSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], the USSR Goskomgidromet [State Committee for Hydrometeorology], and the USSR Academy of Sciences, act as our partners with whom good businesslike contacts have developed. However, a good number of complaints certainly do arise in this partnership as well. We strive to arrange for creative interaction with union republics on environmental issues. Thus, a number of union republics of the European USSR were represented in the Soviet delegation at the Sofia conference.

In our work, we emphasize specific endeavors which may bring tangible, practical results. Obviously, we are very much interested in international ecological programs whose goal is to protect the natural environment in the USSR. We support this program in every way possible. Thus, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has rendered very vigorous assistance to the USSR Academy of Sciences in establishing an international center on Baykal and in creating in Moscow an office of the international organization "World Laboratory."

Briefly about **social and informal ecological associations and groups**. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we believe that these associations and groups have a tremendous role to play in reaching a global consensus in protecting nature, and we strive to help them in any way we can. The selflessness shown by the Soviet ecological community which was led by many outstanding writers in the course of the struggle against the diversion of the Siberian rivers and for saving the Baykal and the Aral Sea evokes a feeling of profound gratitude and respect. **This was a struggle for general human values**; that is, for the very values we currently consider paramount in the entirety of world politics. The official diplomacy cannot by any means, and should not, appear as the sole bearer and keeper of these values. It is exactly making every individual grasp the entire depth of the ecological abyss opening in front of him and the inexhaustible resources of the people's diplomacy that are necessary for achieving the condition of interstate relations which we call ecological security.

For example, the social association "Ecology and Peace" exists headed by the writer S. Zalygin. We eagerly maintain contacts with them and strive to convert useful recommendations to practical deeds. I might say that

some ideas expounded in the present article have been evoked by contacts with this association.

Now for one more important aspect of political ecology. Solutions to environmental protection tasks, including those in the diplomatic sphere, are only possible on the basis of **truly scientific analysis and evaluation** of processes occurring both within states and on a global and regional scale, of scientifically sound prediction of the dynamics of their development. I will be even more precise: Diplomacy runs the risk of lapsing onto the beaten path of approximations and appearances without a direct contact with scientists, without a scientific study of the planned initiatives in the sphere of ecological security. The fusion of diplomacy and ecology also amounts to the fusion of diplomacy and the ecological science. This is exactly how this issue is viewed in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

VI.

The social and general humanity aspect. There is no place for placidity and complacency in ecological work. It is absolutely incorrect to state that it would suffice to suspend the implementation of several projects, close down a dozen or two enterprises which are particularly harmful from the ecological point of view, and everything will work out. The format of this issue is entirely different.

Our country has a particular responsibility for the ecological order on our planet, a responsibility both to its own people and all the peoples of the world. Certainly, we share this responsibility with other large states. However, in this instance the discussion is not about others. Undoubtedly, clean ecology on the scale of the Soviet Union is an essential part and one of the necessary premises for the clean ecology on the scale of the entire world. The size of our territory and the air space above it is not the only issue in this instance. Our numerous rivers replenish the world ocean. Our natural resources are put to use in all corners of the globe. Our boundless Siberian forests are rightfully referred to as the lungs of the earth along with the tropical forests of the Amazon.

It is inadmissible for the volume of these lungs to shrink and for them to generate progressively smaller amounts of clean air; for the Baltic, Black, and Caspian Seas, the water basins and waters of our North and the Far East to contain more industrial waste than water; for our great rivers the Volga and Dnepr to resemble sewer systems; and for the Central Asian giants of Amudarya and Syrdarya to give birth to salt poisoning the once fertile land. It is inadmissible for the extraction and utilization of natural resources to turn into a vulgar robbery of nature's stores.

How can all of these problems be solved? Certainly, we need a nationwide program and strategy, we need republic and city programs, plans of ecological measures at the level of villages and individual enterprises. The most advanced technology, which costs dearly to implement, should become the foundation for these programs

and plans. At issue are tens, possibly hundreds of billions of rubles. For example, the issue of irrigation could be solved to a great degree by switching to drip irrigation which is already in use in a number of countries. However, large additional capital investments will be required to this end. Switching to progressive technologies at thermal power stations is likewise impossible without tremendous capital expenditures, and so on.

Ultimately, some of the resources needed may be obtained at the expense of disarmament and reducing military production. However, **further expansion of the production of material assets** in whose absence it is impossible to pay the "ecological bill" remains the main condition for a successful resolution of all most acute ecological issues. In other words, stable growth of production forces and an increase in the social product due to the application of the most advanced economic methods are needed. A scientifically designed and rationally balanced strategy of capital investment and the concentration of funds in decisive sectors and on decisive avenues are required. However, this is not enough. First of all, a genuine consolidation of all social forces, of all regions without exception, from Brest to Kamchatka, is needed. With regard to this issue, we would like to hear the particularly loud and distinct voice of the creative arts intellectuals, who are called upon to see further and think on a greater scale.

Consolidation should mean unity in deeds rather than words. This is the only way to solve the inconceivably complex problem of making up for the lost time and rectifying the mistakes without bringing to a halt the progress of productive forces. This is, if you will, the profound sense of entire perestroika. **Nationwide stabilization** of our entire society is necessary within whose framework everyone should perform in a skilled and diligent manner the functions entrusted to him at his work station— diplomats, miners, transportation employees, nuclear scientists, tractor operators, and woodcutters alike. In the absence of such consolidation and stabilization any talk of an ecological renaissance will amount to mere general appeals.

Environmental protection calls for the highest level of consciousness and labor productivity. At present, all spheres of our economic and social operations without exception are associated with ecological tasks. It could be said without exaggeration that ecology amounts to testing the strength of any state.

Time is short, and tomorrow it may be disastrously late if we let slip away the opportunity which is open today. At present, we judge the endeavors of our predecessors sternly and in a principled manner. This is done primarily in order to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past. None of us is immortal. People will come who will judge our endeavors. There will be no pardon and no acquittal for us if we leave ecological devastation as an inheritance for them. I have already mentioned above that the biological variety of nature is becoming poorer literally with every passing day. Much has already been lost

irretrievably, but much can be rectified if we get down to work responsibly, with passion, and with honest motives. Let us push aside everything that separates us and interferes with work! Only unity in the name of the main general human value, the natural environment of the planet, may ensure success. Otherwise, the coming generations will show us no mercy because our irresponsibility and lack of strength will have driven them to the brink of physical extinction. No diplomatic efforts will help at that point. A non-nuclear and nonviolent world will be altogether impossible if we fail to ensure its ecological cleanliness.

Interior Ministry Briefing on Crime Statistics

*LD1411212389 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT
14 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov:

Over 1,988,000 crimes were registered by Interior Ministry bodies and the Public Prosecutor's Office of the USSR over the ten months of the current year. This is an increase of 34.1 per cent on the same period of 1988, a briefing at the USSR Interior Ministry was told today.

Most crimes, 87.1 per cent, were committed in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Belorussia and Kazakhstan.

Just as earlier, there has been a rise in crimes against personal, state and public property, against citizens' life and health.

Greatest concern is still caused by the increase in grave crimes. Such crimes accounted for 15 per cent of over 245,000 crimes committed in October.

The number of crimes against property rose by over 50 per cent as compared with last year. This kind of crime is on the rise particularly in Estonia, Lithuania, Turkmenia and Kirghizia.

Street crime is also on the rise. It accounts for 12.6 per cent of the total number of registered crimes. According to statistics, every eighth murder, fourth case of grievous bodily harm, second theft and third robbery are committed in the streets.

Despite some decline in the rate of economic crime as compared with last year, the rate of such crimes remains very high, the briefing was told.

Over the ten months, there were over 71,000 embezzlements of state and public property, over 39,000 crimes involving speculation, over 3,700 cases of bribe-taking. The number of large and particularly large embezzlements of state and public property revealed over this period was five per cent larger than in the same period last year.

As a result of measures taken by law enforcement bodies, legal proceedings were instituted against more than

607,000 criminals. 406,000 Criminal offenders were released on bail, or their cases were referred to comrades' courts.

As many as 138,000 people were wanted by the militia in the current year. Over 99,000 have been identified.

Special Unit Set Up To Combat Economic Crime

*LD1611064689 Moscow TASS in English 2251 GMT
15 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow November 16 TASS—A special body for combatting economic crime has been set up at the Main Directorate of Moscow Militia. It includes best officers of the Criminal Investigation Department and Agency for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property.

A briefing at the main directorate of Moscow Militia was told on Wednesday [15 November] that this step was needed to combat the growth of economic crimes which become a media for organised crime.

It was noted that the biggest danger is posed by the process of a merger of crime in general with economic crime.

The overwhelming number of crimes are committed by crime rings.

In many cases economic crimes are masterminded by heads of enterprises.

In this connection representatives of Moscow Militia expressed the conviction that in order to make the effort to combat organised crime successful, priority should be given to eradicating economic crime.

The briefing was told that in the past ten months, organs for combatting embezzlements of socialist property in Moscow exposed 5,471 economic crimes, including 1,247 thefts. A large number of criminal cases are connected with thefts on a large or very large scale.

Many more crimes than last year have been revealed.

Moscow Special Militia Detachments Formed

*PM2211170989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Nov 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Report by A. Urvantsev: "Special Purpose"]

[Text] The work of a new militia service—the special detachments of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorispolkom] and Moscow Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [Oblispolkom] Main Internal Affairs Administration—was described yesterday at a routine briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD].

"In the first 10 months of this year 324 meetings and demonstrations were recorded in Moscow; of these, 209 were unauthorized. And 471,976 people took part in

them," N. Myrikov, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration, told journalists. "Special militia detachments ensured that order was kept at the meetings. With the development of glasnost and democracy, some people believe that the time for permissiveness has come. During the mass demonstrations in the capital, 700 law violations have been perpetrated this year. This was the reason for the creation of these subunits.

"The special subunits maintain public order during mass cultural and spectator sports events. Thus, a few days ago at the "Olimpiyskiy" Sports Complex several young people, roused by rock music and liquor, took off their clothes and launched into frenzied nude dancing. Only with the aid of a special subunit was order successfully restored. Or recently, the "Pamyat" movement was allowed to lay flowers at the monument to Minin and Pozharskiy. Instead, those taking part in the flower laying organized an unsanctioned meeting and procession. Order must be observed and the law must be respected, after all....

"The detachments are also struggling against organized crime. During such operations, 712 firearms and over 7,500 pieces of ammunition have been confiscated recently. Recently a special subunit traveled to Naro-Fominsk City to arrest an armed criminal. As a result of the operation, an antitank machinegun and ammunition belts were confiscated from him."

Representatives of the Tatar MVD were invited to the briefing. They described the specific measures which have been taken to reduce the level of crime among minors in the autonomous republic.

Youth Organizations Official Interviewed

90UN0287 Moscow PR4VDA in Russian
10 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[Report on 10 November interview with A. Kovylov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, by S. Mikheyev: "We Represent Youth"—place not given]

[Text]The World Day of Youth is 10 November. Our correspondent met with A. Kovylov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations [KMO], and asked him a number of questions.

[Mikheyev] Just as in our entire society, the revolutionary processes associated with perestroyka are underway in the youth milieu. How does this reflect upon the activity of the KMO, an organization created to strengthen ties with people of the same age in foreign countries?

[Kovylov] There are changes, and significant ones. Previously, our organization's activity, in spite of having gained great international authority, was frequently reduced to acting as an intermediary in establishing contacts, and even more frequently, the organization

served as a medium for the elucidation of our state's foreign policy. Now, links with the entire spectrum of youth trends have been established; both with political groups and with non-political groups; for example, with special interest associations. Among them we may name an association of young entrepreneurs from Great Britain and young political activists from the United States. We support contacts with many national, regional, and international youth organizations and associations; we represent youth organizations of the USSR in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Students' Union

[Mikheyev] What organizations are KMO members?

[Kovylov] The committee unites public, trade union, sporting, cultural, and other organizations of youth. Ranging from such a large one as the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] to associations of young lawyers, philosophers, journalists...

Requests for KMO membership are now coming from organizations it is accepted to call "informal." They do not yet have the experience of working on an international level. I feel that we may render them substantial assistance in this. I think that it is necessary to open a dialog with such groups in order for our activity in the international arena to reflect all the diversity of interests of our country's youth. We are presently preparing a general meeting of member organizations at which we will speak of the future of the KMO, of the transition to new work methods.

[Mikheyev] Would you cite a few concrete examples of KMO activity?

[Kovylov] This year we held collective consultations of youth organizations under the auspices of UNESCO. Seventy nongovernmental organizations participated in them. Concrete programs of UNESCO activity for youth participation in the World Decade of Cultural Development were drawn up. Mass delegation exchanges, and the problems of rural youth were discussed.

An international youth meeting, "Paris 89," took place in France this summer. For the first time, the KMO took an untraditional approach. Our delegation's membership included a wide circle of representatives reflecting the state of the country's youth movement, a number of discussion clubs, religious activists, and servicemen. We are adjusting our contacts with the European youth center in Strasbourg. Concrete programs of cooperation: for example, for internships of political figures and specialists for working with youth, for creating foreign language courses, and for getting Western specialists acquainted with their partners in the Soviet Union. Our programs are of a very diverse nature. They also touch upon issues of ecological education, and include meetings of young parliamentarians and student exchanges.

[Mikheyev] Are there organizations similar to the KMO abroad?

[Kovylov] Structural forms similar to that which we are presently working to create exist in all countries of Western Europe, in several socialist states, and in Asian states as well. We could cite the Italian youth committee for international relations, and the All-Swedish council of youth organizations.

[Mikheyev] Who works in the KMO?

[Kovylov] Our work demands that these be competent people who must have a command of foreign languages and a full understanding of the problems of international relations. The average age of the core group of associates is 25-27 years. And this is understandable: After all, we represent youth.

General Discusses Afghan Remembrance Book

PM2411142289 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 22 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "No One Will Be Forgotten"—date, place of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] On 25 August 1989 KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reported that preparations have begun at the USSR Defense Ministry for the publication of a *Book of Remembrance* [*Kniga Pamyati*] dedicated to the memory of the Soviet servicemen who died while fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan.

Our interviewee today is Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and chairman of the editorial commission for the *Book of Remembrance*.

[Oliynik] Grigoriy Fedorovich! In May the General Staff published the figures for our losses in Afghanistan: 13,833 dead, 49,985 wounded, and 330 missing. And then certain mass media immediately began to claim that the official reports could be underestimates....

[Krivosheyev] Yes, I came across such assertions in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.... Yet these painful and distressing figures were checked by the General Staff down to the last man. Records were kept with military rigor from the moment the troops went into Afghanistan—25 December 1979—until the complete withdrawal of the limited contingent to the Motherland on 15 February this year. There were individual reports on each general, officer, warrant officer, sergeant, and soldier, as well as Soviet Army workers and employees. At the same time the military commissariats submitted to the General Staff lists of the names of internationalist servicemen buried on territory under their jurisdiction. I am confident that errors were virtually excluded. I can also express that opinion because in the early eighties I was chief of staff of the Turkestan Military District and was personally involved in recording combat losses in Afghanistan.

[Oliynik] Were only those killed on the battlefield counted?

[Krivosheyev] No. The number of combat losses also includes those who died in hospital of their wounds or who died from diseases. The claims in one publication that those who died of their wounds in military hospitals were not included on the list of combat losses are absolutely unfounded.

[Oliynik] Could you tell us, Grigoriy Fedorovich, what our losses were year by year?

[Krivosheyev] That is easy. In 1979 we lost 86 men in Afghanistan, including 10 officers. The combat losses were 70 and 9 respectively. In 1980 the figure was 1,484, including 199 officers. Combat losses: 1,229 and 170. In 1981—1,298 people. Of them, 189 were officers. Combat losses: 1,033 and 155. In 1982—1,948, including 238 officers. Combat losses: 1,623 and 215. In 1983—1,446 dead. Including 210 officers. Combat losses: 1,057 and 179.

The 40th Army sustained the biggest losses in 1984: 2,343, including 305 officers. Combat losses were 2,060 and 285 respectively.

In 1985—1,868. Of them, 273 were officers. Combat losses: 1,552 and 240. In 1986—1,333, including 216 officers. Combat losses: 1,068 and 198. In 1987: 1,215, including 212 officers. Combat losses: 1,004 and 189. In 1988—of the 759 who died, 117 were officers. Combat losses: 639 and 106. Finally, in the first 1 and 1/2 months of 1989 losses totaled 53, of whom 10 were officers. Combat losses were these: 46 and 9.

Among the dead were 180 military advisers and interpreters who died in Afghanistan in various years. Combat losses, as you can see, are lower than the total number of irremediable losses. The difference is accounted for by deaths in accidents, say, as a result of careless use of weapons....

[Oliynik] Do the figures cited above include party and Komsomol [communist youth league] advisers, advisers from our Ministry of Internal Affairs who were in people's militia—tsarandoy—subunits, and KGB workers who died in Afghanistan?

[Krivosheyev] No, representatives of other departments who died in fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan were not counted by the General Staff. These losses, according to our information, amount to a few hundred men. The names of servicemen and civilians from other ministries and departments who died on Afghan soil will be included in the *Book of Remembrance*. Readers will also find in the book the names of civilian specialists who were working in Afghanistan under contracts and died there.

[Oliynik] What if a soldier died, for instance, because of a lack of discipline or loss of self-possession?

[Krivosheyev] The war in Afghanistan showed that extreme tests and huge physical and moral loads are indeed too much for some people. But whatever the circumstances in which a serviceman died, he fulfilled his duty to the end. All the names, without exception, will be entered in the *Book of Remembrance*.

[Oliynik] One last question: What stage has the work on the book reached? What form will it take?

[Krivosheyev] The editorial commission has already approved the model for the book proposed by the Military Publishing House and the content and size. The *Book of Remembrance* will be in two parts. Names and photographs of those who died will be set out in alphabetical order. A working party has been set up under our commission to collect, sort, and prepare material on the internationalists who fell, for inclusion in the manuscript. The main staffs of the branches of the Armed Forces, staffs of military districts, and local military administration organs are participating actively in this work. We plan to send the book to the press in 1991, and issue a print run of 100,000 copies in 1992-1993. First and foremost, the *Book of Remembrance* will be solemnly presented to the families of the fallen "Afghaners" on behalf of the USSR Defense Ministry. The remaining copies will go to museums, libraries, and military units through the trade network.

In processing information on those who died we often have to deal with the meager information provided by military report documents. We will therefore be grateful to anyone who can help us to collect material on those who fulfilled their military duty to the end and are worthy of our eternal remembrance. Please send letters to this address: Editorial Commission of the *Book of Remembrance* of Soviet Servicemen Who Died in Afghanistan, K-160, Moscow.

New Weekly on Interethnic Relations To Appear
LD2311173789 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] A new weekly entitled SOYUZ will be published in Moscow, beginning with the new year. It will be devoted to interethnic relations, giving information on the life of various Soviet nationalities, their cultures, customs and traditions. It will give its pages to people's deputies, scientists, scholars and many formal organizations concerned with interethnic relations, explained the weekly's chief editor (Lev Kornishov).

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Now in English
PM2111155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
17 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Korniyev report: "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in English"]

[Text] A few days ago at the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office the capital's journalists were acquainted with the first issue of a new publication—

LITERARY GAZETTE INTERNATIONAL. A joint venture has been set up for its publication in cooperation with the U.S. Ansar company.

The greater part of the as yet small print run—20,000-25,000 copies—has been dispatched to the United States in order to test the reaction of the local newspaper market. In time, if things go well, the new newspaper will become an international publication targeted at the English-reading intelligentsia.

Naturally, a lot of space in the newspaper will be set aside for advertising. The aim is for it to be self-supporting. Representatives of ANSAT, which already has firm contacts with APN, are hoping for successful cooperation also with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. As from 1990, the Americans are promising the new newspaper a circulation of tens of thousands of copies...

And so there will be an English version of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. It will be published biweekly and run to 32 pages. It will be sold for hard currency only. For the time being it will be printed in Moscow at the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA printing plant, on paper from own stocks. Later, in accordance with the contract, it will be published abroad, on local paper, and, of course, with the help of computer technology.

Economic

Economic Reform Conference's Results Analyzed
PM3011111189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
27 Nov 89 Morning Edition p2

[Article by V. Romanyuk: "Are the Radicals Really Radical? Afterword to All-Union Science and Practice Conference From Which More Was Expected Than Was Actually Forthcoming"]

[Text] At a meeting with journalists held immediately after the end of the conference on the problems of radical economic reform, Academician L. Abalkin said that this time conservative forces had proved stronger than at the previous meeting in the summer and that this had come as a surprise to him. I will be honest: This statement came as even more of a surprise to me, because there had only been one or two obvious conservatives, at least among the speakers, whereas the report given by L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had been regarded by many as highly conservative. That is why it had come in for some biting criticism from the radicals. It is another matter as to how radical they themselves were in the constructive part of their speeches.

A. Chuprov, an eminent economist at the end of the 19th century, expressed opinions on the administrative system which still have striking relevance today, 100 years later. He wrote that the administrative system has given nothing to Russia other than political oppression. Nothing other than intolerable moral harm and terrible material damage.... It has killed the people's zest for work.

The smashing of the administrative system figured on the banner of the October Revolution and figures today on the banner of restructuring. But the administrative system continues to thrive, and we are still unclear as to how to make the leap forward from the present state of the economy to a new state. The four stages given by L. Abalkin—the last stretches up to the year 2000!—failed to arouse enthusiasm. Primarily because they do not contain radical elements.

The key issue is that of ownership. The draft law has now been submitted for nationwide discussion. But what stand is taken by L. Abalkin? "You do not have to be an owner in order to be in charge," he said. "It is often the case that a person does not want to be an owner—he does not want the burden of responsibility...." What follows from these maxims? Simply that the concept of private ownership is still being skirted around. One of the speakers called this "playing to the gallery." Everyone is getting stuck on the concept of private ownership, but no one is bold enough to call a spade a spade.

It is the age-old question: "Where are we going?" What constitutes socialist ownership and what does not? There is no doubt that we are all in favor of socialism, but this does not rule out the possibility of enriching the forms of socialism with the experience of world civilization. If the state sector is to be scaled down in favor of the collective sector and the "denationalization" of ownership is underpinned with new laws, is there any need to fear these new forms?

The trend of moving away from possession toward ownership can be seen all over the world. For example, the PRC made the distinction between right of ownership and right of economic management. But time showed that this was inadequate. The lease system led to the impoverishment of the land and the rights of ownership and economic management had to be combined. In order to develop a sense of ownership in the lessee, they began to sell the right to land use.

Let us return, however, to L. Abalkin's report at the conference and his deplorable admission that we apparently have no theory on the transitional period and, in fact, on transitional movements in general. How, for example, is the transition to be made to a socialist market? It is generally believed that we should start by ensuring a balanced national economy. But, for decades now, we have never achieved this even once. We cannot hurl ourselves into the abyss of the market if we are not armed with market forecasts! It is explained to us that the market does not signify a rejection of regulation; the state must still be responsible for shaping the infrastructure and drawing up the general rules of economic conduct.

What can we say to this? It is all very reasonable. But we heard this a year ago, even 2 years ago. We have not advanced a single step. Meanwhile, people's social aspirations are growing, as are their expectations of rapid improvement. The fundamental reasons for the failures

seem quite clear: Attempts to carry through restructuring "from above" instead of doing it through the working masses themselves.

World experience shows that agriculture, light industry, and the food industry are the most responsive to market stimuli. But we are stubbornly working from the opposite end: From heavy industry. We are tormenting ourselves with all kinds of questions: What kind of conditions are needed to ensure that it does not cause the economy to collapse but guarantees its dynamic development? What kind of economic regulators should we have?

"As yet, there is no concept of economic reform worked out in detail and clearly formulated," V. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Questions, said. "Hence the indecisive actions, tentative movement, often retrogressive, and the adoption of unpopular decisions."

The center for the study of public opinion has issued the results of surveys on the population's attitude to radical reform. What kind of attitudes prevail? Expectations are being exhausted and people are showing lack of faith in the possibility of rapid change and doubts about the correctness of the direction chosen. In answer to the question of what is causing the country's economic difficulties, more than 70 percent of the respondents said mistakes before and during restructuring; 20 percent even believe that the reasons are to be found in the very nature of socialism.

A worrying idea was voiced at the conference: The prolonged coexistence of old and new structures is leading to the danger of a reversion to the old system. What is more, this could happen imperceptibly: A slight slowing of pace in one direction, then another, something becoming frozen, for all the best will in the world—and the old structures are back again, triumphant. How is this danger to be overcome? Academician L. Abalkin believes that we need to create a critical mass of new elements which, in aggregate, will make it possible to break the inertia of the system. But have we managed to accumulate this critical mass during the restructuring years? Hardly. Elements have appeared recently which are more likely to put the brake on than do anything else. These include the additional measures proposed by the government to stabilize the consumer market and strengthen state price control. They also include the suspension of a series of articles in the Law on State Enterprise concerning contractual prices, restrictions on the export of goods, and the expansion of the state order's zone of influence. N. Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, rather wittily suggested that as long as the administrative system exists, we should make the most of it. Particularly with regard to the introduction of scientific and technical progress, because the present system has no inner impetus.

The deepening of economic reform must be based on plurality of forms of socialist economic management—all are agreed on this point. But how are they to be established? In the opinion of V. Novikov, secretary of the

Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee (obkorn), legislative backing is not enough for this: There must also be political and ideological backing. There are more than 1,700 lease collectives in the Moscow region. But the "explosive" effect initially expected has not happened. The usual explanations for the shortcomings are the poor standard of economic work, cadre incompetence, and the fact that collectives are not prepared to accelerate the pace. But the covert forms of opposition to lessees should also be mentioned: Contracts often include terms disadvantageous to the lessee, and departments interfere in the procedure for distributing income. A mass of subordinate legislation limiting enterprises' independence is still being adopted. It is no accident that enterprises under local jurisdiction, which come under less pressure from edict levers, predominate among lease collectives.

Some life was injected into the discussion by A. Sergeyev, head of department at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU) Higher School of the Trade Union Movement, who sharply opposed market orientation, which, in his view, is leading to the curtailment of the all-national, planned economy and dividing society into two parts: One gets its income from the sale of manpower, while the other lives on capital invested in shares. The solution to the problem? In place of "the policy of universal recollectivization" of the economy, we are offered a differentiation of economic management systems, which will single out a "strategic echelon" to ensure a breakthrough in scientific and technical progress. Instead of an economic mechanism with in-built inflation, we are offered a mechanism built on stable prices. Finally, the pearl of the alternative program!—instead of unpopular measures, those that will be popular with the people are proposed. So what are these measures? Monetary reform with "ruble for ruble" exchange of up to R15,000 in savings; anything more must be protected by declarations or paid to the state.

Imagine, this proposal prompted applause. The speaker said that the applause came as no surprise to him and that 99.9 percent of all collectives support the idea of monetary reform. Is that so? In any case, in the section which discussed the problem of restructuring the credit and finance system, no one supported the idea of monetary reform. It is not hard to imagine what would happen in the market if investors in a panic were to withdraw several tens of billions of rubles from their savings accounts all at once. The idea of reviving the coupon and rationcard system found no support either. On the other hand, there was a heated discussion on the problems of introducing parallel currencies and a convertible ruble. However, we have heard all this before as well.

Academician O. Bogomolov said bitterly that the conference had failed to produce new ideas. He reminded people that a complex of urgent measures was proposed 2 years ago but that we are still at the same point: We are still analyzing past mistakes and blunders made during restructuring itself. There is a vast amount of international experience in operating a market economy under state control, but we are still drawing up drafts. How long

can all this go on? We have to make a start somewhere! O. Bogomolov believes that we can start to inject life into the market by introducing "real" money that serves as a real rather than conventional purchasing agent. The destruction of the market has gone so far that there is very little scope left for taking effective measures, let alone unpopular ones.

O. Kazarov, secretary of the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom, drew attention to the paradoxical state of the economy: It is under neither sectorial nor party leadership. "In the past we had decisions without pluralism, now we have pluralism without decisions," he said. "As a result, we are even falling back from the level we started at. State bodies appear to have voluntarily relinquished the right to regulate economic relations. But without a strong impetus from the center it is hard to get going with territorial economic accountability."

To all appearances, those at local levels are following the actions of the center with consternation. First there was the flawed law on unearned income, which has become a dead letter; then there was a surge in cooperatives disposed to total licence and with grasping instincts; then it rained down higher wage rates and salaries; then wholesale trade degenerated into primitive "barter" exchange....

Clearly, reform of the entire cost mechanism must be comprehensive. The financial market is ineffectual with the redistribution of profit on the basis of individual (read: levelling) norms. At the same time, the transition to a tax-based method of budgetary contributions from profit is impossible without a unified financial market. It is equally absurd to introduce a taxation system while still retaining the old price system. But this is the direction in which we are heading.

The section which discussed the correlation between plan and market examined the problem of broadening enterprises' rights. A paradoxical conclusion was drawn: So far, it is not the rights of the enterprises themselves that have been broadened, but those of the middle-level bureaucracy. In other words, functions previously fulfilled by central departments (in the form of the state order, for example) are being shifted onto the middle level (associations, concerns, and so forth), changing little for the enterprises or else making changes for the worse. This is because the middle level of management applies even stronger pressure. Again the producer is deprived of the right to make direct contact with the consumer. Thus, the move away from departmental jurisdiction toward extradepartmental structures is an illusion.

We are entering the foreign market! The initial euphoria rapidly disappeared: Our products are not competitive. It is not simply a question of the quality or technical standard of our output: The same old administrative system is holding us up. State enterprises geared to exports for hard currency should have no fewer rights

and freedoms in the development of enterprise and initiative than their competitors. But the departments are holding them back!

Western businessmen are now prepared to help restructuring because they fear the restoration of the old system, which could happen in the face of the growing difficulties. Unfortunately, many initiatives are being dashed to pieces against the bureaucratic structure of economic management.

Academician O. Bogomolov read out a letter he had received from the general director of the "Renservis" [name as published] firm, which supplies our country with computer equipment. The firm is disappointed that, despite long negotiations and detailed proposals from experts, not one of these proposals has been realized in contracts. The latest proposals—to set up a joint enterprise to assemble xeroxes in conjunction with the improved quality and export of paper from the Soviet Union—have not been accepted at all. Unfortunately, two of our departments, the Ministry of the Timber Industry and the former Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, have been unable to agree between themselves. But, in the last 20 years, our country has bought 15,000 xeroxes from this firm and is still spending a vast amount of hard currency in this way now. The potential demand for xeroxes is close to 4 million units of equipment. It would be far more profitable both for our country and for the firm to set up a joint production unit—what is more, the proposal is that we settle accounts not with hard currency but with good quality paper, the production of which the firm has also pledged to organize. Simple as that! But everything is at a standstill.

On the one hand, it is being said at a political level that we are building an open economy; on the other, our market is becoming more and more closed in on itself. Many goods are being removed from export, while an increasing burden is being placed on imports. As a result, we are losing markets and jeopardizing our reputation as a reliable partner; our foreign economic debt is growing and is nearing (or perhaps has already reached?) danger point. At the same time, many of our Western partners are beginning to avoid contacts with us, because the "declarations of intent" so easily signed by our representatives extremely rarely materialize into real contracts.

If we accept the stages of economic reform proposed by Academician L. Abalkin, we will have to say that we will not be able to enter the 13th 5-Year Plan period with an efficiently honed economic mechanism. In the opinion of many scientists—and economic workers, too, for that matter—not one of the options guarantees a way out of the impasse.

All that remained was to compare our own economic problems with those troubling the world. The International Academy of Management (New York) recently launched a "frontal attack" with the aim of revealing the most topical problems of 1990. The shortage of talent has become worse:

We must promote and stimulate people's intellectual abilities (in this connection, one of the participants in our discussion said that if we continue to "put the brake" on young talents, this will soon prompt a mass emigration of specialists to the West). The second problem has to do with the different focus of interests of the state and private business. The third problem sounds "retrograde." The return to basics. We are referring to the need to pay greater attention to the rational organization of labor, improvement in style of leadership, efficiency when implementing decisions, and a stronger psychological climate in collectives. The fourth problem is the crisis problem or, to be more precise, the ability to respond to unforeseen circumstances.

Possibly we, too, need to return to "basics." The conference participants spoke of the importance of cultivating commitment to the job, fostering organizational talents, and enhancing directors' authority. V. Shimko, minister of the radio industry, even said that a minister can still somehow get by without much authority, whereas a director no longer can.

How is one to tell whether the architects of our economic reform are also accumulating a "shortage of authority?" There is too much "muscle flexing," for example, regarding how to get control of "hot money," while virtually nothing is said about how to increase production and awaken the motivation to work. We are still left with routine apparatus measures of an administrative nature. One would not want their critical mass to tip the balance.

Economic Reform Said To Last 8-10 Years

904A0067B Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Nov 89 p 2

[Second installment of two-part article by Soltan Dzarsav: "Reform: Reality and Prospects"]

[Text] An inflationary spiral started to creep into our life long ago. In the last 20 years, the growth in the monetary incomes of the population was repeatedly declared from the highest tribunes to be a significant social achievement. However, there was silence about the fact that the growth is inflationary and that it is accompanied by a shortage of commodities and a drop in the purchasing power of money. Perestroika, unfortunately, has not improved the situation. Moreover, in recent years there has been an explosive growth in monetary incomes, with a small increase in commodities and paid services. It is continuing. This year the issue of money not covered by commodities will amount to R18 billion, and next year R10 billion is planned.

In short, there are not enough commodities, but, nevertheless, we still want to receive money. But, according to the immutable laws of economic development, an irrepressible stream of money in circulation depreciates each ruble we receive.

Under these conditions, we will see how real the addition that we are counting on for the next year will turn out to be. The monetary incomes of the population will

increase by R10 billion (owing to an increase in pensions and pay for certain categories). The volume of commodity turnover and paid services will also increase in monetary terms (we are not talking here about the familiar and disturbing process of the disappearance of cheap varieties). But the imbalance that piled up in past years is also continuing, and, therefore, the income of the state will not be enough to cover its expenses, and it will be forced to put money into circulation that is not covered by commodities.

The measures being applied by the government seem to us to be absolutely inadequate for leading the country out of the crisis situation. We find ourselves in a position that is more serious than it appears to be. For the sake of comparison, we will cite these data. During World War II the British economy, as well as the economies of other belligerents, underwent grave trials. They had to make large expenditures. As a result, the volume of circulating money increased by 170 percent. Let us take France, which was subjected to enemy occupation and suffered much more. As a result, the volume of money in circulation increased by a factor of 3.4. But what about our country? At the June (1987) Central Committee Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev reported that for the years 1977-1985 the amount of money in circulation increased by a factor of 3.1. If you take a longer period the picture will be worse. In a word, our crisis is just as grave as it was in the countries in the West immediately after the war.

What is to be done? In our opinion, a fundamentally different approach to the implementation of reform is needed, reform from the standpoint of the whole, and not of a part. We need logical measures to change from a centralized to a market economy, whose basis consists of free production of quality goods and services and a sound monetary unit in circulation. We have never had this before, and we still do not have it. The question was never even raised in this way.

Arrogant claims to theoretical infallibility have to be discarded, and we must accept the fact that, essentially, we are not a commodity production system, and it is for this reason that we do not have the elements of a developed market economy: A market of commodities, manpower, and capital. Accordingly, our money is not real; it is semi-money and semi-coupons for the purposeful acquisition of what is necessary, and, more accurately, what is allowed. I am sorry, but I will have to repeat old truths. Only a freely produced and sold product is a commodity, and not one produced and sold by command. Real money is that equivalent of cost which fulfills all five functions: Measures of cost, medium of circulation, payment, accumulation and savings, and world money.

That is why, in our opinion, serious reform is realizable in two stages of an overall duration of 8-10 years—preparatory and main stages. During this time, it will be necessary to effect an interconnected system of pragmatic measures that will increase the efficiency of the Soviet economy and ensure its organic inclusion in the

world system, and the inclusion of the ruble in the 10 reserve currencies of the world. Without a full value monetary unit, I will repeat, reform is impossible.

Most difficult for us is the first preparatory stage (1990-1992), when we will have to get out of the crisis, stop the negative processes, stabilize the economy, balance the economy at a specific structural level, and achieve a partial convertibility of the ruble.

The measures proposed at the current session of the Supreme Soviet, in my view, do not bring us to a resolution of this task. The disorganization of the social economy cannot be overcome by small and especially contradictory decisions and acts. It should be obvious that if there continues to be no resolution of the food problem, the budget deficit, and the worsening situation in the consumer market, further continuation of the reform will be impossible.

We now need an anti-inflation direction in all economic development. We have to eliminate three interrelated deficits: Commodity, budget, and balance of payment. The most difficult is overcoming the food deficit, which dictates the urgency of conducting agrarian reform aimed at the creation of a class of Soviet peasants capable of providing the country with foodstuffs.

The creation of a certain sufficiency of goods and services and an increase in the consumer purchasing power of the ruble are a starting point for the ruble's stability both inside the country and in the international arena, and for its convertibility. You, the reader, will ask: Was not all of this envisaged in our plans? There actually are such plans, and the rates of growth in consumer goods set forth in them are good. The only problem is that they were imposed, as previously, by way of pressure and administration. Each minister was dictated strictly how much goods his branch could add for the market. He did not come with the proposal, but, to the contrary, he was compelled, forced, to produce hat and coat racks, irons, and meat grinders. Force was used, because, as up to the present time, the main thing was lacking—an economic interest. People receive purely symbolic wages for many goods produced at a loss, although every ruble applied to the payment of wages in group "B" has commodity coverage.

We have to implement a structural perestroika of the economy and increase the export potential of the country, including with the aid of conversion. The standing of the ruble on the world market will be determined by the demand for Soviet commodities and the volume and structure of our export. Only with a continuous flow of currency can the possibility of its free exchange for foreign currency be created and maintained.

The volume and structure of import should be changed in the area of foreign economic relations. A drop in prices for oil lowered the intake of hard currency, and the USSR was compelled to reduce purchases on the world market of goods for which it had a critical need.

Is it possible immediately to shift to a free exchange of the ruble for foreign currency, as is sometimes suggested? It is possible, but it is extremely disadvantageous. An increase in demand for foreign articles with a growing deficit of goods of domestic production will lower the purchasing power of the ruble even more, and it will undermine the prestige of the ruble inside the country and in the international arena. Something else should be done—increase the purchasing power of the ruble. Inasmuch as today's ruble can buy approximately half what it could in the 1960's, then it should be considered that wages and savings decreased by that amount. If we halted the negative processes for 2-3 years, then the increase in the incomes of the population would become a reality. If we doubled the purchasing power of the ruble, which is quite achievable, then we would befittingly reward those who are able to save money. The state would increase the trust in it, which is very important to the financial and economic stability of society, precluding all kinds of purchase and sale fevers.

This objective can also be served by the gradual introduction of the ruble in the international payment turnover. The cancellation, at first, of some restrictions, and, later, other restrictions in the exchange of the ruble for hard currency will promote an increase in the demand for it on the part of foreign currency possessors. Partial, i.e., foreign, convertibility of the ruble will mark the beginning of a freer exchange of commodities, ideological and cultural values, and joint activities with others in the area of businessmen's activities.

In the course of 2-3 years, it will be necessary to create a currency-monetary reserve that will make it possible as early as next year to begin an annual removal from circulation of R10-12 billion of money that is not backed up by commodities. Conformity between demand and supply has to be attained in two ways: By an increase in the production and sale of commodities, and by the removal of excess money from circulation.

Only after stabilizing the economy and restoring market equilibrium, and after conducting the structural perestroika that is necessary for a new start, will it be possible to move into the second and main stage (1993-2000) of implementing reform. The result of this can and should be a transition to full convertibility of the ruble.

Scientific

'Mir' Complex Continues Astrophysical Experiments

LD2811122289 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT
28 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS special correspondent from the flight control centre:

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are continuing their flight aboard the orbital Mir complex. This morning they transmitted to earth scientific information

obtained during earlier explorations under the environmental study programme and the international UNESCO man and biosphere project.

The cosmonauts will conduct a research into materials on the Gallup unit today. The aim of the experiment is to obtain a semiconductor material with improved characteristics in conditions of microgravitation.

A series of experiments with the magnetic spectrometer Maria is to be held under the astrophysical research programme. The study of the distribution of streams of elementary charged high energy particles in near earth space will continue.

The cosmonauts' had their blood circulation system checked during their physical exercises on a veloergometer on Monday.

According to the medical examination, Viktorenko's and Serebrov's health is good.

The flight of the manned scientific research complex Mir is proceeding normally.

Preparations for 'Kvant-2' Link With 'Mir' Continue

LD3011213589 Moscow TASS in English 2132 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Flight Control Centre December 1 TASS—Preparations for the specialised Kvant-2 module to link up with the manned Mir complex are continuing. The Kurs radiotechnical approach and link-up system were verified in different regimes of work on Thursday.

According to the telemetric information, the module's systems are functioning normally. The efficiency of the power supply system has been restored—the second panel of the solar battery fully opened.

The Kvant-2 module orbit will be corrected on December 1, in accordance with the programme, for continued approach and link-up with the Mir complex.

'Cosmos-2052' Satellite Launched 30 Nov

LD0112073989 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT
1 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—The satellite Cosmos-2052 was launched by a Soyuz booster rocket in the Soviet Union on Thursday.

The satellite is carrying scientific equipment intended to continue the exploration of outer space.

The satellite has been put into orbit with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—89.7 minutes,
Maximum distance from the earth's surface (in apogee)—373 kilometers,
Minimum distance from the earth's surface (in perigee)—175 kilometers.

Inclination of the orbit—67.2 degrees.

Apart from the scientific equipment, the satellite is carrying a radio system for the accurate measurement of orbit elements and a radio telemetric system for transmitting back to earth data on the work of the instruments and scientific equipment.

The on-board equipment is operating normally.

A coordination-and-computer centre is processing the incoming data.

Further Details on 'Granat' Space Project

LD3011213889 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT
30 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 30 TASS—An astrophysical observatory, "Granat", is scheduled to be launched into outer space from the Baykonur Cosmodrome at 11:21 p.m., Moscow time, on December 1.

A proton carrier-rocket will first deliver the space vehicle to an intermediate artificial earth satellite orbit. Then, in the first revolution, after switching of the fourth stage propulsion units, it will be changed over to a working orbit.

The aim of the experiment is to explore sources of X-ray and gamma emissions in the universe. Neutron stars, black holes, white dwarfs, remains of supernova star eruptions, the centre of our galaxy as well as its interstellar medium and extra-galaxy objects are to be explored.

The background X-ray emission of the universe and its properties as a whole are also to be explored. Construction of images and revealing of the structure in nuclei of active galaxies is of great interest, specialists believe. The study of variable sources of small-energy X-ray and gamma eruptions will be carried out with the help of the Soviet instrument Podsolnukh (Sunflower). It is a set of telescopes installed on a revolving platform along with a video information registration unit.

The Granat observatory scientific equipment was designed by scientists and specialists of the Soviet Union, France, Bulgaria and Denmark.

Solar batteries where silicon photo-transformers are used as a source of electric energy. A steady radio communication of the space vehicle with earth will be ensured by low-gain receiving-transmitting antennae in decimeter and centimeter ranges, installed on the orbital module.

The ART-P and Sigma telescopes, designed respectively by Soviet and French specialists, will make it possible to obtain images of X-ray emission sources in a broad range of energies. The observatory's scientific equipment also includes a traditional ART-C astronomic X-ray telescope.

Fire Reported at Khmelnitskiy AES

904E0028A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 89 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "No Thunder Is Rumbling..."]

[Text] Khmelnitskiy—A report that a fire which broke out at the No 3 unit now under construction at the Khmelnitskiy Nuclear Power Station [AES] was quickly extinguished has nevertheless sent a wave of concern through the eastern part of the Ukraine. A PRAVDA correspondent communicated with the director of the AES, V. Saponov, and asked him to describe what happened in more detail.

By comparison with the No 2 unit, he reported, whose construction is in the final stage, construction of the No 3 unit is still at the stage when installation of the main equipment has not yet started and in some places the concrete work is still being done. This morning's shift of construction workers was laying the nonmetallic pipes through which the lines that make up one element of the structure of the envelope for the reactor department are drawn. Either a spark from an electric weld or something else—now being clarified by the special working commission—set fire to the surface of the pipes. There were flames and a cloud of smoke that could be seen by the inhabitants of Neteshin, the new city for power workers and construction workers at the AES. Within minutes of the alarm the AES firefighters arrived at the scene, led by A. Manelchuk. Fire trucks soon arrived not only from Neteshin, but also from other towns. However the trouble was dealt with and the fire was successfully extinguished within an hour. Its consequences are local in nature—channel lining materials in the envelope were burned over an area of 50 square meters. There were no casualties or damage. The No 1 unit is operating normally.

Commenting on the interview, I would like to note that the director tried in every possible way to depict the affair as nothing out of the ordinary. People do not believe such assurances when any kind of explosion occurs at an AES through some negligence.

Military

Case For, Against Volunteer Army Presented

PM3011112989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 89 p 2

[Feature entitled "Volunteer Professional Army? Pros and Cons of Professional Army" incorporating articles by reserve officer V. Yashchenko and Lieutenant Colonel A. Kokorin; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] This question is being asked increasingly often by civilians and the military nowadays. The most zealous advocates of "professionalism" for the military are usually civilians. They promise that it would all be plain

sailing and they propose solving virtually all Army problems at a stroke. Are things perhaps really far simpler than our military men try to make out?

One way or another the question has been raised, and to avoid it would be to complicate the problem. An open and public discussion should dispel any doubts, in our view. That is why, on receiving "yet another" letter from reserve officer V. Yashchenko, who advocates a professional army, we decided to ask the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate to put its point of view. Readers can judge from Lieutenant Colonel A. Kokorin's article just how acceptable the idea of a professional army is for us and for our society today.

V. Yashchenko, reserve officer:

The serious damage being done to the country's prestige—along with the negative consequences for the domestic, political, economic, and moral atmosphere within the country—by the pronounced reluctance on the part of military leaders to embark on the creation of a volunteer professional army and abandon the compulsory draft is becoming increasingly obvious.

The thesis that we are economically not in a position to afford a professional army does not stand up, in my view.

Here, for instance, are the most obvious ways of seeking funds for the formation of a volunteer professional army.

Some of the funds saved from Armed Forces cuts could be used to finance the pay of enlisted ranks. Privates in the Army should be valued just as much as generals. We need to conduct research into the size of Armed Forces cuts required. The current figure is that 500,000 men are to be cut. Even after this cut, the Soviet Army will continue to be the world's largest army, being larger than the U.S., FRG, and PRC Armies put together. Can an economy that is in a deep crisis afford to maintain such a juggernaut? Isn't it time to remove the taboo on discussion of the deep-rooted militarization of society's activity? After all, if 75 percent of state budget funding for scientific work goes on military research, what is the real level of the militarization of the country's scientific and industrial installations?

People have recently started talking openly about the problems of political work in the Army. Bullying has not been eradicated, and drug abuse and crime are spreading. Of course, this is linked with the general problems of society, but how is evil to be overcome?

Undoubtedly, the free labor provided by compulsorily recruited soldiers and sailors is one of the main reasons why the command contingent is steadfastly reluctant to switch to a professional army. The Army leadership realizes that it would be impossible to order volunteer servicemen to do anything that went beyond the bounds of their direct duties.

People who have done military service know first hand that the Army isn't used to counting its pennies. However, the scale on which money is squandered beggars imagination. Here is just one example. As is clear from articles, on just one day, 23 June 1989, the "minor transport requirements" of ranking military staff—namely, flights by virtually half-empty Tu-154, Tu-134, An-26, and An-12 aircraft from airports in the Moscow region to Moscow for the Defense Ministry conference—cost the state around R1 million. This sum would have been enough to pay a R500 monthly salary to 166 servicemen for one year. We're told that there are no funds for a professional army?!

The number of generals and colonels should be considerably reduced and brought into line with the proportion of such ranks in other countries' armies. In the U.S. Army there are 3,400 servicemen per general, in the FRG Army the number is 2,400, but in our army the figure is less than 700. This is after the reduction in the number of generals and colonels in our Army by 1,400 and 11,000 respectively. Incidentally, this number of positions cut is approximately equal to the current number of generals and colonels in the U.S. Army—1,073 and 13,500 respectively.

It is even less sensible to keep under the auspices of the Armed Forces and military departments all kinds of road, construction, railroad, sports, and other subdivisions which have nothing to do with ensuring the country's defense capability and essentially merely perpetuate the system of compulsory free labor provided by servicemen.

Clearly, the advantages to be gained from switching to a volunteer professional army are beyond doubt. What main advantages would accrue to the state? First, the switch, if accompanied by a reduction by a factor of two or three in personnel numbers, would be of immense importance for disarmament and for dispelling suspicion about the Soviet Union.

Second, it would deal a decisive blow to all the vestiges inherent in the administrative system of compulsory draft formation and Army upkeep: The arbitrariness of privates, sergeants, and younger officers, mismanagement, and bullying.

Third, it would promote the strengthening of our defense capability and professionalism. Modern war is a technological and scientific war and not simply a question of "cannon fodder." The armed conflicts of recent years have shown that today we need not numerous ground forces but highly skilled specialists able to handle modern technology and military hardware. Such specialists can only be highly educated career servicemen—draft soldiers, yesterday's schoolboys, are not up to the task. "Aggressive imperialism" in the shape of the United States has abandoned this practice, but the Soviet Union is bending over backward to avoid following the example set by its main opponent....

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Lieutenant Colonel Professor A. Kokorin:

I have repeatedly heard and read that our Army should not exceed 1 million men. It is hard to disagree with the need for cuts. But why must we cut back to such levels? When and where has this question been researched and by whom? Do the writers of articles who produce such recommendations with improbable ease realize this? The differences between the proposals for Army cuts are amazing. Some propose cutting the Army by 1 million men, others by 500,000, others suggest cutting it by a factor of 2-3 (no, not by a factor of 2 or 3, but precisely 2-3!), while others suggest a reduction by a factor of 10-15....

Recently there have been persistent calls for a switch to a professional army. Those who uphold the priority of the professional principle quote the same argument—this kind of army exists in the United States and resolves the full range of military questions.

There is talk of the high professionalism of that Army's personnel. We have no reason to fail to take account of the fact that present-day military practice has produced a requirement for professionals. But does this mean that armed forces based on universal military service are unprofessional? One cannot fail to see how there is a tendency for the number of professionals to increase in nonprofessional armies. This can be seen in our military building, too. For instance, in the growth in the number of officers and warrant officers (that is, the people professionally involved with military matters) vis-a-vis the men. Thus, whereas just 15-20 years ago professionals made up 17-25 percent of our Army, today the figure has virtually doubled in all branches of the Armed Forces—and it is considerably higher in the Air Force, Navy, and Strategic Rocket Forces. That is one point. On the other hand, there is hardly any need to expedite this trend. All the more so as there is convincing evidence of historical experience on this score. Thus, in the interwar period the doctrine of "iron knights" (small professional armies) was propounded by Fuller, Douhet, Guderian, de Gaulle, and others, but when faced with a "big" war they were forced to abandon their doctrines.

In other words, each subsequent war which was initially seen as a struggle of technical genius and professionals overstepped professional bounds and expanded in scale and time. Under these conditions, the system of universal military service was preferable, since it created major reserves ready for use in a war.

But let us return to the experience of a professional army. Indeed, there are many valuable points to it. We, a group of Soviet officers, were able to see this for ourselves when we visited the United States. But our Army has to resolve different tasks. Moreover, these are resolved under different conditions. There is the size of our territory, the country's geographic position, the demographic situation, the length of the border, and a number of other objective factors.

The idea that a switch to a professional army will avoid the problems that have a negative influence on the troops' life (in general, these are nonregulation relations and bullying) is currently being discussed. Indeed, if we believe the U.S. experience, many acute questions of disciplinary practice would be removed. But by no means all, and new problems would arise. U.S. officers quoted us many incidents from their own army experience which we would describe as "nonregulation relations." I will quote just one of them: A mass brawl between American sailors in an African port. This resulted in a "three-star" admiral being removed from his post. In short, not everything is so simple. Incidentally, only the armies of two countries—the United States and Britain—are currently staffed on a professional basis. All the others are based, as a rule, on a mixed principle of staffing. This is very rarely mentioned in our press.

It is not hard to envisage the problems the country would encounter if we started switching to a professional army. The point is not that funds would be needed to pay for all categories of servicemen. The transition to a professional army is advantageous only if the Army is considerably reduced. Even if the fact that the actual reduction procedure would require considerable expenditure is not taken into account, we would note that, if we cut the Army, there would be fewer people to resolve the full range of defense tasks. New technical systems able to replace people would have to be urgently and intensively developed within a short space of time. Simple arithmetic shows that the funds released through cuts in Army and Navy personnel would not be enough to resolve this question. The intensive development of new military-technical systems could be assessed as a call for a new spiral in the arms race.

The transition to a professional army would clearly increase difficulties of morale, too. We have largely abandoned the moral principle that used to prevail among our people: Men in Russia were always considered warriors and defenders of the motherland.

The staffing system we have adopted has deep historical roots. Unlike many countries whose past is characterized by "splendid wars" which did not require the utmost mobilization of all the state's potential, our history has been a severe teacher.

Nor should we overlook cases of, to put it mildly, distorted information being used in articles about the Army. It has become a popular assertion that our Army is larger than the armies of the United States (2,155,600), the FRG (495,000), and the PRC (3,050,000) put

together. It is claimed that it would still be bigger than them even after a 500,000-man troop cut. Let's do some arithmetic. The total numerical strength of the aforesaid countries' armies is 5,700,600 men. Even in the opinion of Western experts—who, incidentally, have never understated our Army's size—it was around 5 million even before any cut. No comment is needed, as they say.

Nor should we forget that the size of the U.S. allies' armed forces considerably exceeds the analogous potential of our allies. In short, it should be recognized that unsubstantiated information produces problems among Army and Navy servicemen which by no means always promote the enhancement of the country's defense potential. Clearly, nobody should forget this.